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HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE HUGUENOT CONGREGATIONS
OF
SOUTH CAROLINA,
BY
THE LATE DANIEL RAVENEL OF CHARLESTON,
WITH NOTES BY
THE LATE GENERAL WILMOT G. DESAUSSURE.

The French Protestant Church of Charleston is one of four churches founded by the French Protestants who on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz sought Civil and Religious liberty in that part of "the Province of Carolina" since known as South Carolina.

In our earlier Statutes this Section of Country is described as "that part of this Province that lyeth Southward and westward of Cape Feare;" sometimes "as the south and west part of this Province," or by terms of like import. (See Note 1st.)

¹ "The Province of Carolina" was the title of the Country comprehended between 35.30 and 29 Degrees of North Latitude, and extending westward indefinitely, granted in two Charters of Charles II, in 1663 and 1665, to eight Lords Proprietors. In the portion "lying southward and westward of Cape Feare," the Proprietary Government was overthrown by the People in 1719, from which time to 1729, the Government was Provisional. The Charters were, on the 25th July, 1729, surrendered to the King, by seven of the Lords Proprietors, under an act of Parliament, 2 Geo. II, ch. 34. The eighth Proprietor surrendered his interest afterwards. "The Government, from the

A few French Protestants had come to this part of the Province before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. Mr. Samuel Wilson, Secretary of the Lords Proprietors, in an account of the Province printed in London in 1682, speaks of "the French Protestants who are there, and skilled in Wine," and a publication printed also in London the same year, entitled "Carolina &c." by T. A. gentleman, clerk on board his Majesty's Ship the Richmond, "which was sent out in the year 1680 to enquire into the state of that Country, and returned this present year 1682," states that 45 French Protestant passengers came in that ship, to whom his Majesty gave "their passage free for themselves, wives, children, goods and servants," to promote the making of silk, and the culture of the Vine." And the late Mr. Thomas Gaillard of Alabama found in the Books of the Secretary of the State of South Carolina, records of Grants and Warrants of Surveys to French names as early as 1677 and 1678. He gives the names and dates of six, and says there were others; but there is no evidence that these earlier immigrants formed a distinct community, or a church; although they may have united with their countrymen on the larger Immigration which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. It is therefore of these last that we are chiefly to speak.

There was a colony of French Protestants, north and east

surrender in 1729, became Regal, and the Province was divided into North and South Carolina, by an order of the British Council, which fixed the boundaries between the two Provinces." Dr. Thos. Cooper, 1 Vol. St. at Large 40 & 41.

The last Act on our Statute Book, in which the terms "South and west part of this Province" are used, is dated 20 March, 1718-19.

The first Act under the Provisional Government is dated 23 December, 1719, to which the Hon. James Moore, Governor, signs his assent "in his Majesty's behalf." 3 St. at Large—p. 96 & 97.

Although this part of Carolina is described in our earlier statutes, as above stated, there is an Act dated 5 December, 1696, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of the better settlement of South Carolina." In a note on this Act, Dr. Cooper says "The part of Carolina lying south and west of Cape Fear, began about this time to be called South Carolina." 2 St. at Large, 124.

of Cape Fear, organized as a church. A few of them may have joined the Settlers on the Santee, but not as a body. They were a colony encouraged by William III in the year 1690 to come to America, and who located themselves at the Manniken Town in Virginia, above the falls of the James River. Not well pleased with the Lands they first occupied, they removed in 1707 to the Southward, and seated themselves upon Trent River, with Mr. Rybourg (Richbourg) their Pastor. (¹)

South Carolina received accessions at a subsequent period from other continental Protestants, whom it is proper to notice. The Swiss Protestant Colony, who came out in 1732 under the advice and lead of Mr. John Peter Pury of Neufchatel, and settled on the north east side of the Savannah River and founded Puryburg, consisted of about 360 persons. But they came under the auspices of the Established Church, and were accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Bugnion as he is called by Dr. Dalcho, a Swiss Minister, who, having received Episcopal Ordination in London, settled among them. (²)

The last French Protestant Colony to South Carolina was that which came over with the Rev. Mr. Jean Louis Gibert and settled at New Bordeaux, in Abbeville District. They consisted of 138 persons, and were accompanied by two Ministers, the Rev. Mr. J. L. Gibert and the Rev. Mr. Pierre Boutilon. They embarked at Plymouth on 2nd January, 1764, and arrived safely in Charlestown on the 12th April, 1764. Many of them are still in their original locality, and I believe, conform their worship to the usages of the Presbyterian Churches of this country. (³)

¹ Williams' No. Ca. p. 178.

² Hewatt, p. 296—Carroll's Collections. Dalcho, p. 386.

³ The late James L. Petigru was a Grandson of the Rev. Mr. Gibert. The venerable Stephen Thomas, who died in Charleston on the 17th May, 1839, in the 89th year of his age, was one of this colony, and from a descendant of his, still living, Mr. Stephen Thomas Robinson, I came in possession of the following paper, copied by himself in

Our State received benefit from the immigration of Individuals of the same Protestant Faith. In 1734 the family of DeSaussure joined their destinies with South Carolina, and have without interruption held a distinguished position in the country, both socially and officially.

The chief purpose of this article is to trace the History of the Church established in Charleston by the Immigrants after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. These Immigrants however cannot be dissociated from their co-Immigrants, who organized other churches of like character in South Carolina. The refugees to this State settled originally in three localities, viz, Charlestown; on the Santee; and at Orange Quarter on Cooper River. The settlement in St. John's Berkeley was made by removals from other points. But all these founded churches, and they were the first people who preached the Gospel in South Carolina, beyond the limits of Charleston.

The descendants of the French Protestant Refugees in our State are now all identified with the community by language, habits and pursuits. Yet the lapse of time has not obliterated the fact and the associations of descent. They are not only remembered, but are generally recognized with favour by others, as well as by themselves.

The same general facts are believed to apply to the descendants of the French Refugees in Great Britain and in America. They have not, with few exceptions, preserved their distinctive religious organization and worship. They have

June, 1836, viz: "Liste des Protestants Réfugiés a Plymouth dans le dessein d'aller s'établir dans Les possessions du Roy de la Grand Bretagne en Amerique; embarqués le 2nd Janvier, 1764, abord du Navire Le Friendship, Capitaine Gregory Perkins, devant faire voile au premier bons vents pour Charleston, en Caroline; et dont on a fait trois exemplaires; un pour être adressé a Messrs les quatre Commissaires; un pour être présenté a Monsieur Le Gouverneur de Charleston; et le troisieme pour être conservé dans le Colonie; tous les trois signés par Messrs Gibert et Boutilon, pasteurs."

Then follow the names of the 138 persons who came on board the "Friendship."

become gradually absorbed in the Religious Bodies around them. But they carried with them everywhere elements of character and intelligence, and a skill in useful arts, which have made them valuable contributors to industrial progress and social order. They have transmitted the moral influences, without the religious organization in which those influences had their origin and nurture. The tendency to assimilate with those among whom we live does not account for the fact. In Great Britain, although numerous reformed churches were established by the French and Walloons, two only survive.

The noble and generous sympathy, with which the Refugees from Holland, the Netherlands and France were met, was often marred by a jealousy of strangers, and by a supposed conflict of interest between the new comers and the artisans of the country; whilst the sentiment in favour of the National Church and the policy of promoting it, not only discouraged the Refugees, but resulted in their gradual reduction to the two which still survive. "The strangers," says Mr. Burn, "appear to have been claimed by the English Church as a part of its flock."

In America circumstances of a different though of a kindred character led to a like result. The Huguenot Colonists generally united in Churches of their own; but the one organized in Charleston is the only one which has survived. The Refugees to America and their Churches, have to some extent a common history. But each group has also its own. The circumstances which controlled or guided the Refugees to South Carolina, it will be our chief purpose to trace.

A few preliminary remarks are necessary to a just understanding of the difficulties experienced by the Refugees to our State as religious bodies; and of the events which have led to the present position of this church, and to the office I have ventured to assume, of gathering fragmentary details, of limited interest in themselves, yet deriving interest from the people to whom they relate.

The Refugees to Carolina had left their native lands within a year or eighteen months of their arrival in America. Their worship was therefore conducted, of necessity for some years, in all their churches, in the French language. But the families of the French acquired gradually the language of the country and this necessity wore away, whilst their condition afforded motives for visiting other churches. It was difficult, both in the Town and in the Settlements out of the Town, to maintain with regularity their peculiar worship. All these churches had to meet a common calamity. When the Ministers who had led or accompanied them were removed by death, the suspensions or interruptions of public worship were frequent, from the difficulty of supplying their places. We shall see, as we proceed, that this was one of the reasons why the churches, thus established out of Charleston, conformed with the Church of England upon the legal establishment of that Church by the Province in 1706, and why many of the original members of the church in Charleston were induced to provide for their families in other churches, a more regular worship than their own afforded. With most of the latter an arrangement, temporary at first, resulted in a change of denomination. The original Ecclesiastical Bond thus became weakened, and then broken.

The Church in Charleston was reluctant at all times to admit the necessity or expediency of change, either in its organization or in the language of its services. The idea of a change of language under its own organization and forms seems not to have been suggested until a late period. There were probably at former periods obstacles to that course, which do not now exist. But the French language continued the medium of its services, long after our City afforded a French Protestant population sufficient to sustain a Congregation, and the families of many original members attached themselves to other congregations. It struggled long to maintain its original worship in all respects, and failed in the effort.

The last Pastor who conducted the services in French, was the Rev. Mr. Courlat. After an experience of several years, he resigned his position in 1823, and returned to Switzerland, his native country. He came hither an invalid and continued in delicate health. He is said to have preached with fervour, and even with eloquence, yet his hearers were usually six or seven males. (¹)

The reverence felt for ancestral usages had been indulged. The concerns of the church had reached a crisis, and new counsels were necessary. The possession of a charter and the ownership of property are the facts which seem, under God, to have prevented the extinction of the Reformed French Church of Charleston. But these facts involved duties and responsibilities. The members of the Corporation, reduced in numbers, and most of them advanced in years, took occasion, in their personal intercourse with the young men of Huguenot families, to set before them the duty of joining the Corporation, of taking part in the care of its property, and of consulting upon the future of the church. In the course of a few years, a considerable number of young men became members of the Corporation. Their meetings and conferences revived an interest in the church, and in the year 1828 it was resolved, that an effort should be made, in trust in divine aid, to revive its services, according to the ancient principles and forms, but in the English language. The proceedings under this resolution, to their accomplishment in the reopening of the church for Divine service in the English language,

¹ A friend informed me that he and the late Mr. James L. Petigru, were the only attendants on one of his last sermons.

ELIAS HORRY. MEM.

Elias Horry translated "the morning and evening service, the service for the Catechism and the table of lessons for the morning and evening service on special occasions—in all eighteen quarto pp. of the original."

REV. JASPER ADAMS,

Eulogium before Coll. Charleston, Jany, 1836.

will be detailed in their proper place. The new interest in the church thus awakened, led to a desire to know its history. By the younger members of the Corporation, now the greater number, the antecedents of this and its kindred churches were imperfectly understood. They were to some extent traditional. The Records of our church anterior to 1740 were known to have been burnt, and the earlier historical notices of the colony had become scarce. We are indebted to Mr. Carroll's Historical Collections published in 1836 and to other publications, for much information which could not then be readily obtained. It became therefore a just and natural desire to possess an authentic, though compendious record of a people who came to these shores with no uncertain purpose, and under no ordinary motives.

A committee was therefore appointed to prepare a sketch of the History of our church. Of this Committee, Mr. Thomas Smith Grimké was the chairman. It was desired and understood that he would perform this duty. He would have performed it ably. But whilst on a visit to Ohio, to fulfill a Literary appointment, his useful life was suddenly closed. He died on the 12th October, 1834. Seized with Asiatic Cholera, in a stage coach on his way to Columbus, Ohio, he was received by a family on the Road and the sad ministrations of the dying hour were afforded him by strangers. (See Note 2nd). Our disappointment in regard to the His-

Note 2nd. The Cincinnati Democratic Intelligencer of 17th October, 1834 says, that after delivery of his address at Oxford Mr. Grimké returned to Cincinnati to attend the College of Professional Teachers, before whom he spoke repeatedly. That body met on 15th October. 1834, and passed resolutions on his death.

The New York Commercial Advertiser says he died at Gwynne's, about 22 miles from Columbus in Ohio, on Saturday 11th October. That he had delivered an address to the Erodolphian Society of the Miami University. That he was buried by moonlight. The last sad office was performed by the Rev. Dr. Preston of the Episcopal Church, a large concourse of citizens testifying their respect by attending his obsequies.

The Ohio Monitor says he died at Gwynne's farm, Madison County, Ohio, on the 12th inst.

torical Sketch was thrown into the shade by the loss to us of such a member, and to our community of such a man.

But the purpose was not abandoned. There was, for several years, reason to expect that the object would be accomplished on a wider plan than we had originally designed. Circumstances however led to a second disappointment. (See Note 3rd).

In January, 1859, a resolution submitted by our late valued Elder, John B. DeSaussure, was adopted, requesting the writer of these remarks to prepare the desired sketch.

In compliance with this request the minutes and papers of our church were examined, and notes taken of the matters that seemed proper to such a record. Indeed the sketch had been commenced. But it was deemed a measure of prudence, under the dangers to which the political events of 1860 exposed our City, to send into the Interior our Records and Books not in immediate use, and also the Communion plate. All these were carefully placed in a box and sent to the Merchants' Bank at Cheraw for safety. The Notes taken from the Records were placed in the same box. The belief

The Columbus Sentinel says. He died on Sunday morning. His remains were interred in the Columbus Grave-yard on Monday evening. It adds, "It is consoling to remark that his eyes were not closed solely amidst strangers. His Brother, the Hon. Judge Frederick Grimbé of Ohio, had gone to Columbus to meet him and learning his condition, reached Mr. Gwynne's, with one friend, just before his death, and attended his remains to Columbus that day."

A letter, dated Chillicothe, states that he got out of the stage at the house of a gardener of the name of Anderson, who immediately gave him his personal attention, and that Judge Grimbé, with H. D. Thompson, arrived about midnight but found him in a state of collapse.

Note 3rd. Mr Thomas Gaillard, formerly of this State but latterly of Alabama, was known to have collected materials for such a History. His interest in Ecclesiastical History generally, his industry, his exact mind and his clear style, made him eminently fit for the undertaking. Why his purpose was not accomplished is not explained. His manuscripts are no doubt valuable. From another source we expected a brief Historical notice of our Church in its religious aspects. This expectation was defeated by the failure of the health of the Rev. Mr. Howard.

was then entertained that at no distant period its contents would be restored to us. This expectation has been disappointed. On the approach of Genl. Blair of the United States Army to Cheraw, in 1865, this box, with other articles left in the Bank for safe keeping, was removed from the building, but fell, it is believed, into the hands of the enemy. Our enquiries have led to no information respecting it. (¹)

But with the lapse of time and the loss of records, the desire has rather grown than declined, of preserving what is known. And this has been strongly expressed to the writer by several of the younger members of the Congregation. The worship of our Church in its translated Liturgies has now been maintained 25 years. It numbers young persons of intelligence and worth, to whom a record is due. It contains many children, for whom a record should be provided. Under the circumstances, an attempt is made to collate in these pages such facts and reminiscences as remain. Imperfect as they are, they will probably correct traditional errors and misconceptions, and may awaken interest, although they fail to gratify it.

And this interest can scarcely be limited to ourselves. Our Church is nearly coeval with our City. The Colony was commenced in 1670. Its location on the west side of Ashley River was soon found inconvenient and the Authorities looked to a better site on the opposite bank, on the point made by the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. But the preparations were gradual, and the change was not effected until 1680. Mr. Samuel Wilson, Secretary of the Lords Proprietors, says: "In May 1680 the Lords Proprietors sent their orders, appointing the Port Town of these two Rivers, to be built on the point of land that divides them, and to be

Note 4th. The only Books left to us are, The Journal on Minutes from 10 October, 1830. The Treasurer's account book from — — — — —, a small book containing the Minutes of the Elders from March, 1848, and a newly commenced Register of Baptisms, Marriages, Interments, &c.

called Charlestown, since which, about one hundred houses are there built." This is corroborated by Mr. T. A. (Thomas Ash) also before referred to. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantz took place on the 18th of October, 1685. Most of the French Immigrants came over in 1686, about six years after the new Town was made the Port. The Huguenot Record in Carolina would therefore possess interest from age alone.

But as an embodiment and expression of sentiment, religious and civil; as an element in the Social influences then just commenced, these Immigrants and their Churches rise in Historical importance.

They represented the principles of the Reformed Church of France at its purest period. They came as Professors of its Faith. They brought over and established its worship. Wherever they settled they had their churches under ministers who had accompanied them. They came in families to establish homes, and they did establish homes, and families, and churches.

The Immigrants were of different social positions, but a large proportion were artisans. Many of them probably remained in the Town. None brought wealth. Most of them were obliged to abandon their possessions and effects, Some however brought considerable means. Many families had articles of Silver, such as Tankards, cups, spoons, indicating the domestic comfort in which they had lived. All entered upon occupations. Their example was good. Their principles and habits were infused into general sentiment. A very large proportion of the old families of Carolina are of Huguenot descent.

The date and character of the immigration are entitled to our first consideration. These rest upon various evidence. Statutory evidence claims precedence. In the Statutes at Large, is "An Act for the better encouragement of that part of the Province that lies south and west of Cape Feare." This Act bears date 1st May, 1691, about five years and a

half after the date of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The preamble forms a large part of the Statute, and is curiously historical. ⁽¹⁾

I condense it. It recites that "greate numbers of French Protestants" had been forced by persecution for their religion's sake "to flye out of France;" thousands of whom coming to England and elsewhere in the English dominions, were kindly received and relieved; that the Lords Proprietors of the Province had been pleased to send and encourage several of the French Protestants to come into this part of the Province, "and by their special orders to the Governors and "Deputies here, to make them, the said French Protestants, "magistrates in the civil and military part of this Government," and also to give and grant unto many of the said French Protestants and other foreigners, several lands to be held by them and their heirs and assigns forever; all which lands &c. are settled and inhabited by the said French Protestants and other foreigners. It then recites, "that several persons born in Switzerland have of late years come into the Province, and have, upon the same encouragement as the said French Protestants, settled in the same." It then enacts, "that all and every French Protestant, or person born in Switzerland, of what age soever he may be, at present an Inhabitant &c., or that heretofore hath been an Inhabitant, and is now absent and shall return before 1st May, 1692, be adjudged, and taken to all intents and purposes, as free born of that part of this province that lies south and west of Cape Feare &c."

The Act then confirms all transfers of lands made by the French and Swiss. To this recognition and confirmation of Rights and privileges, conditions are annexed which will

¹ It will be seen in 2nd Vol. St. at Large, p. 58.

Note 5th. This is the earliest Statute I have found relating to Immigrants. In Statutes at Large, page 38, is the following note of Dr. Cooper, viz: "No original Manuscript Acts of the Provincial Assembly are to be found from 1687 to 1690. nor any list of that period noticed in the Catalogues of Ch. Justice Trott or Judge Grimké. The interruption is from 23rd July, 1687, to 22nd December, 1690.

be noticed hereafter. The point, to which I call attention here, is that the facts recited occurred "of late years", an expression denoting several years before May 1st, 1691. French and Swiss Protestants, refugees from religious persecutions, had received grants and made purchases of lands, which were then settled and inhabited by them. This Act determines the character of the Immigration. Its motives and purposes were religious, illustrating the History of the period. The Immigrants had among them men of position, deemed worthy of being assigned to offices of trust in the Province. This Act is a key to the Huguenot history in South Carolina. There are no newspapers of that early period, and few public records so old. Arrivals cannot be ascertained from these sources, but private records furnish evidence of the date and character of the Immigration. The first that suggests itself is the letter of Mrs. Judith Manigault, the wife of Pierre Manigault, a translation of which was originally published in Ramsay's History of South Carolina. From this letter we may conclude that she and the family of which she was a member, arrived in 1686. They left France before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, under the persecutions that preceded that event. They were in London in 1685, spent three months in that city, and then embarked for Carolina, suffered disasters, stopped at two points, and were nine months making the voyage. (See Note 6th)

Note 6th. Mr. Charles Manigault is in possession of the Receipt for the passage money of Pierre Gitton, Louis Gitton, Magdelin Gitton, Judith Gitton & Fr. dated London 27 April, 1685, witnessed by Sir Peter Colleton and Richard Hobson. They must have left France before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz.

Judith Gitton was then about 20 years of age. She married Noe Royer, Junr., who died without leaving children. She afterwards married Pierre Manigault, and died in 1711 leaving two children, Gabriel and Judith.

The family is in possession of the letter first published by Ramsay, and believed to be the original draft. It has no date. It has the following endorsement on it, in the handwriting of her husband Mons. Pierre Manigault, viz: "Lettre de ma femme escrite a son frere."

The Mazyck family are in possession of a full and carefully written family record prepared by the son of the Immigrant. From this it appears that Isaac Mazyck, the head of the family in Carolina, fled to Holland in 1685 and went to England in 1686. But dissatisfied with the bigotry of James II and concluding to come to Carolina, "He, with many other pious and worthy French Protestant families, embarked and sailed from London for Carolina in October, 1686, and happily arrived in Charleston, S. C., in December, 1686, as appears by a memorandum of his." From an entry in an old French Bible, in the possession of the Grimké family, it appears that Gideon Faucheraud fled from France after the repeal of the Edict of Nantz, 1685, and arrived in Carolina 1686. (See Note 7th.)

Mr. Alfred Huger, the present owner of a plantation in St. Thomas Parish south of the T of Cooper River, holds among his muniments of Title, a conveyance of part of his Tract from Pierre Fouré to Pierre De St. Julien Malacare, one of the Immigrants after the Revocation, which bears date 17th December, 1686. This was in the settlement known as Orange Quarter, and probably one of the earliest.

By an official certificate in my possession, dated London 25th April, 1687, it appears that "Elias Priolean, Clerk, his wife and two children were made Denizens, by letters patent dated 15th April, 1687." If he obtained this paper in person he probably came to Carolina early in that year, but it may have been sent after him. Dr. Ramsay says "He brought with him a considerable part of his Protestant Congregation." I presume there are similar evidences in private hands of the dates of the arrivals of the Refugees, but these are all of that class accessible to me.

Note 7th. The Entry adds of 1686, "year of the great hurricane." From same Bible we learn that Gideon Faucheraud married Marie Ville-Pontoux 29th October, 1710. His father's name was Charles Faucheraud, who married Ann Vignaud. He died aged 42 years in France; she died aged 97. Charles Faucheraud's mother's name was Dupont.

There was among the papers of our Church an original document, which I have often seen, dated 9th December, 1686. This was the certificate of admeasurement of Lots Nos. 92 & 93 in the model of the Town, "to John Francis De Gignelat and Paul de Saul, (¹) in order to the building of a Church of the French Protestants of this Province." Of this document we shall have occasion to speak again. I notice it here, to show that in December, 1686, the French Protestants of Charleston were a recognised religious body. I am not aware of any public record of the dates of the Settlements at Santee and Orange Quarter. They were of considerable extent but I have found nothing to indicate why these positions were selected, whether the settlers went to them under any public guidance, or were led into a common course by agreement and sympathy. But there is evidence that they were commenced soon after, and perhaps immediately after, the arrival of the Immigrants. It is probable that the earlier Immigrants, already mentioned as old as 1677 to 1678, (who came out, not only for religious freedom, but also to cultivate the Vine and Olive, and Silk,) had located themselves at Santee and Orange Quarter and furnished the nucleus of these Settlements.

The Act of 1st May, 1691, above referred to, does not name any settlement but recognizes grants and purchases of lands by French and Swiss Protestants then "settled and inhabited." There could have been very few to whom these terms could apply, except those of the Santee and Orange Quarter Settlements.

The Carolina Gazette of 26th October, 1769, contains a notice of the death of Mrs. Marian C. Porcher, which says, she was "daughter of Mr. Philip Gendron, one of the first French Protestants that arrived and settled at Santee about the year 1685." This implies that some of the earlier Grantees, referred to by Mr. Gaillard, may have adopted that locality.

(¹) See Note in Dr. Dalcho, p. 385.

The family of Huger was among those at Santee. Daniel Huger the Immigrant and head of the family left a record in which is an entry of the birth of a son at Santee, on the 16th March, 1688-9, who was baptised by the Rev. Mr. Prioleau. This fact implies that the family then resided at that place, and the visit of Mr. Prioleau, a Minister known to have been then the Minister of the Church in Charleston, implies that others were there settled. The date of the entry is $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years after the Immigration.

Again we have a copy of the will of Rev. Elias Prioleau. It bears date the 8th February, 1689-90. He styles himself "Minister of the Holy Gospel in the French Church of Charleston." This will contains the following clause, viz: "I appoint my said wife, to give immediately after my death, five pounds sterling to the Church, to whose service I shall be the most ordinarily attached at the end of my days; and if there are two, which I serve with equal assiduity, she shall give to each of the said Churches, two pounds and a half sterling. If she cannot pay in money this sum of Five Pounds Sterling, either in whole or in part, she shall give the value of it, in what she can." He was Minister of the Church in Charleston, but there were other churches to which he then also ministered. These must have been churches out of Charleston. We have seen that he administered baptism at Santee in 1688, and his farm on Back River, an arm of Cooper River, was nearly opposite the settlement at Orange Quarter. These were the other churches, to which his will refers.

With respect to Orange Quarter, the Title from P. Fouré to Pierre de St. Julien deMalacare in December, 1686, already noticed, of a plantation on the T of Cooper River, which is known to have been his residence, is evidence of the early date of that settlement. But there are other curious evidences of this fact. The will of Caesar Mozé, office Sec'y of State, dated 30th June, 1687, bequeathed to the Church of the

Protestant Refugees in Carolina, Thirty seven pounds to assist in the construction of a Temple for the use of the Congregation in the vicinity of a plantation, which he describes as lying on the Eastern Branch of the T of Cooper River. For this fact I am indebted to the late Mr. Thos. Gaillard of Ala. To a genealogical Chart which he presented the writer in 1847 he appends a few historical notices, and among them that from the will of C. Mozé, and he adds the following remark, "Here is the evidence of a Church of Huguenots existing in Charleston previous to June, 1687, and of a design to establish another in the Interior.

With these several and various evidences of the religious character of the Swiss and French Immigration to Carolina, of its date, and the date of the settlements on the Santee and on the Eastern Branch of Cooper River, and of their having been accompanied by Ministers, the inference is irresistible that the Gospel was first preached beyond the limits of Charleston by them. We read therefore with surprise the following passages in Mr. Ramsay's History of South Carolina. ⁽¹⁾ "The first settlers of South Carolina were of different religious persuasions. None had any particular connection with Government; nor had any sect legal pre-eminence over another." "This state of things continued for twenty-eight years. In the early period of the province, Divine Service was seldom publicly performed beyond the limits of Charleston, with the exception of an Independent Church formed near Dorchester in 1696." He says on the next page, "In the year 1704, when the white population of South Carolina was between 5,000 and 6,000, when the Episcopalians had only one church in the province, and the dissenters three in Charleston and one in the country" (doubtless meaning the one he had mentioned at Dorchester) "the former, the Episcopalians, were so far favoured as to obtain a legal Establishment." And in a note he adds, "The New England plan of co-extending settlements and religious

⁽¹⁾ Vol. 2, p. 1.

instruction by making a meeting house and a minister appendages to every new town, was far from being common in Carolina but was substantially adopted in some cases. The New Englanders near Dorchester, the Irish at Williamsburg, the Swiss at Puryzburg, the French at New Bordeaux, all brought their Ministers with them, and each of these groups had the benefit of Religious Instruction from the time they became Carolinians." Thus are the settlements on the Santee and Cooper River ignored. Mr. Hewatt however accords their "having Clergymen of their own persuasion, for whom they entertained the highest respect and veneration." Beyond doubt, the groups of Refugees at Santee and Orange Quarter not only "had the benefit of religious instruction from the time they became Carolinians," but having brought with them their Christianity were the first to preach it and establish churches beyond the limits of Charleston. But Mr. Hewatt is not entirely accurate. He says that "Gov. Ludwell received the wandering foreigners with great civility and was not a little solicitous to provide them with settlements equal to their expectations." He may here refer to some additional comers from North Carolina. But Mr. Ludwell was not Governor till 1692. The Refugees came about six years previously. Gov. Ludwell, under instructions from the Lords Proprietors, had favoured the Refugees, but the kind purposes of the Lords Proprietors and of himself, had, for the most part, been defeated by the English Colonists.

The causes of dissension, which disturbed the harmony of the Colonists at this early period, therefore claim our notice.

The Charters of Charles II had authorized the Lords Proprietors, in promotion of the settlement of the Province, to grant liberty of conscience. Protestant foreigners had been invited to come, with assurances on this point. And although no direct denial of the right of opinion or worship to the French Protestant Refugees can be alleged, the perfectness of their churches, the sufficiency of their ministry, the sacredness

of their marriages, and the legitimacy of their children, were all questioned by adherents to the Church of England to the regret, no doubt, of the more enlightened and liberal of that Church, but to the annoyance of many of the Refugees. These allegations, not the less annoying because thrown out in hints and jeers, have been encountered by all Dissenters and have been answered a thousand times. But with these other difficulties were combined.

Protestant foreigners had been encouraged to come to the Province as we have seen, by assurances of civil privileges, and in many instances by grants and by sales of Lands, yet doubts were thrown upon their Titles to their lands, and upon the right of inheritance in their children.

The Refugees had appealed to the Lords Proprietors, and their appeal was favourably answered. In April, 1692, Gov. Ludwell received instructions from the Lords Proprietors for the government of the Colony. "He had instructions," says Mr. Hewatt, "to allow the French Colony settled in Craven County the same privileges and liberties with the English Colonists." (1)

Gov. Ludwell had instructions to allow them six representatives in the Assembly. This privilege of representation they were not permitted to enjoy. The English Colonists denied the right of the Lords Proprietors to confer citizenship and the right to purchase and hold lands. For ten years, from 1686 to 1696, a conflict of opinion was maintained between the English Colonists and the Refugees. It was chiefly to reconcile opinions on these points that Lord Archdale, one of the Proprietors and a member of the Society of Friends, was sent out as Governor. He found it impossible to reconcile parties but succeeded in moderating

(1) "Several of the Refugees being possessed of considerable property in France, had sold it and brought the money with them to England. Having purchased large tracts of land with this money, they sat down in more advantageous circumstances than the poorer part of English Emigrants."—Hewatt.

their asperity. It is probable that much was effected by his mild and kind intercourse with both. He resigned in 1695 leaving Joseph Blake, a Presbyterian, Governor in his place, and on the 10th March, 1696-7, an Act was passed for making aliens free of the Province. By this Act sixty-three French and Swiss Refugees, named in the Act and said therein to have petitioned for its privileges, were made citizens and the privileges of the Act were extended to all others who within three months next ensuing should petition in writing therefor.

This Act seems to have determined the previous relation of the Refugees for it conferred citizenship and confirmed their titles. By this Act liberty of conscience and worship "to all Christians, Papists only excepted", was formally declared for the first time by the Parliament of South Carolina. The Act is silent on the subject of Representation and the right of voting. An Act was passed in October, 1692, "To regulate the election of members of the Assembly," but the Act was limited to the next meeting of the Assembly and has not been preserved.

It may elucidate the progress of opinion in the Colony respecting the authority to confer citizenship to remark, that the Act of 1st May, 1691, above referred to, (1) conferred its privileges upon a simple and easy condition, viz: that the French and Swiss Protestants should within six months appear before the Clerk of Parliament and enter his or her name in a Book, by the Clerk to be provided, a copy or counterpart of which Book the Clerk was required, under a penalty, to deliver to the Secretary of the Grand Council. The French and Swiss could not have availed themselves of this Act. The conflict respecting civil rights continued. The Refugees were probably not then prepared to yield their convictions of Right. But the period was one in which the English mind had been brought to more than ordinary thoughts in political and civil relations. The

¹ On page 21.

English Revolution was a recent event. It was natural that the English Colonists should feel the more intensely on their rights, but intelligent foreigners could not have regarded them with indifference. The English Bill of Rights had been adopted in 1689. It was a consummation of the thoughts of ages. William and Mary had been placed upon the Throne upon the basis of that declaration. There was ground of assurance never before felt, of civil and religious right and peace.

In the interval between the Acts of 1691 and 1696 the Refugees had acquired new views, and saw the wisdom of accepting a settlement of this vexed controversy which secured religious freedom and the rights of property to themselves and all civil rights to their children. The faith of the Proprietors towards the Refugees had been violated, but by the people and government.

But there were other causes of dissension in the Province in which the Refugees were concerned, and by which they were to be affected for good or for evil.

The Royal Charters and the Fundamental Constitutions prepared and proposed by the Lords Proprietors, show that an Established Church for the Province, in conformity with the Church of England, had always been contemplated by the Crown and by the Proprietors. But the state of parties did not admit of the measure for some years.

The intolerant spirit of the age had driven persons from England and from her Church. Many of them came to Carolina and Dissenters formed a majority of the people. Some of them were men of property and influence. Although among those favourable to an Establishment were persons of high social positions with a command of means, as their improvements on the Ashley and elsewhere show, their purpose had to await its time. There were also absorbing questions of local policy. Throughout the period of the Proprietary Government there was a party for and a party against that Government. Precautions against the Indians required

constant care and military preparations. The frequent visits of Pirates exerted a corrupting influence. These various elements in a new colony resulted in a low standard of morals. The period was one of turbulence and there were many in the colony of different religious views, who from principle, and for the security of property, were interested in civil order. This is manifest from the Statutes of the day.

The first Act registered by Dr. Cooper in the Statutes at Large is "An Act for the observation of the Lord's Day" dated 26th May, 1682. He records the titles of three other Acts for the same purpose, dated 23rd Novr., 1685—11th Decr., 1691 and 15th Octr., 1692. There was a commendable effort to improve the moral tone.

The friends of an Establishment managed their cause with caution and adroitness. We may deduce its progress from the Statutes. In 1698 an Act was passed, "To settle a minister of the Church of England in Charlestown." It provided a permanent settlement of £150 per annum with certain other privileges. This Act was passed under the administration of a Governor who was a Dissenter. Dr. Ramsay says, "This excited neither suspicion nor alarm among the Dissenters for the minister, in whose favour the law operated, was a worthy good man." (1)

The next Act was one of 6th May, 1704, making conformity "to the Religious worship of the Church of England" a qualification for membership in the General Assembly. "This Act passed the lower house by a majority of one vote." The opponents of this measure presented the Act as a grievance and sent to England successively two agents, John Ash and Joseph Boone, to remonstrate against it. The measure was condemned by the Lords and Queen Anne, but no relief was afforded. Just six months afterwards, viz; on 4th Nov., 1704, an Act was passed "for the establishment of religious worship in the Province according to the Church of England, etc." On the same day two other Acts were passed, the one

(1) 2nd. Ramsay, p. 2.

“to regulate the election of members of the Assembly,” the 12th section of which declares Aliens, born out of the allegiance of the Queen of England, ineligible to the Assembly notwithstanding the Act of the 10th March, 1696-97; the other a further Act for making aliens free of this part of the Province, &c., the 5th Section of which again declares Aliens born out of allegiance but naturalized, ineligible to the General Assembly but entitled to vote under certain qualifications. ⁽¹⁾

Dr. Ramsay, in his Biographical notice of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, ascribes these measures in favour of the Church of England chiefly to the influence of Sir Nathaniel. “The Governor” says he, “concurring in the common creed of the times, that an established religion was necessary to the support of civil government, and believing that the best interests of the Province would be promoted by endowing the Episcopal Church, exerted all his influence with the Assembly and the people to procure its advancement to public support and legal pre-eminence. The result was in several respects answerable to his expectations. “The Assembly” he continues, “was sensible that his continuance in office was so essential to the continuance of the Establishment that they made a most extraordinary provision against the contingency of his death or removal from office.” The Act referred to by Dr. Ramsay is an Act of 23rd March, 1704-5, which enacts, “That the present Assembly shall not determine or be dissolved by any power or person whatsoever at any time within two years from and after the ratification of this Act, or within 18 months after any change or alteration of Government, by the death of the present Governor, or the succession of another, &c.”

The anxieties of the Dissenting Churches by this legislation may be inferred from an Act, amendatory of the Act for establishing the Church of England in the Province, passed on the 17th February following, Section 3rd of which is in

(1) 2nd. Stat. 251-253.

these words, ⁽¹⁾ viz: "And for the remedying of all difficulties and disputes that may arise hereafter, within the said Parish of St. Philip in Charlestown, and all other parishes that are or shall be hereafter settled within this Province, that the Ministers of the Church of England may pretend to be authorized in their respective parishes to marry, christen and bury all and every person to be married, christened or buried within their respective parishes, it is hereby declared that it is not meant or intended by the aforesaid Act, to take away right or usage of christening, burying or marrying, from any of the Ministers of any of the dissenting congregations, any misconstructions or misrepresentation of the said Act to the contrary notwithstanding." ⁽²⁾

The Church Act of 1704 did not go into operation. It contained provisions which gave powers to the Lay Commissioners which were disapproved by the authorities in England. The friends of the Established Church in England disapproved it. A society had been formed in England in 1702 for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts. It was designed to promote the Established Church in the Colonies. But it afforded no aid to Carolina until the objectionable provisions of the Act of 1704 had been annulled. In November, 1706, the Act since known as the Church Act was passed and soon afterwards went into operation.

In the Act of 1704 no mention is made of the Foreign Reformed Churches. But in that of 1706 provision is made for the erection of the French settlements on the Santee and at the Orange Quarter into Parishes, and the benefit of the Act extended to them upon their conforming to the Ritual of the Church of England, according to the Translation of the Book of Common Prayer translated into French by Dr. John Durell by order of Charles II, for the use of his Majesty's Chapel of the Savoy, and his Islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

This outline of the progress of opinion, resulting in an

⁽¹⁾ 2nd. Stat. 261.

⁽²⁾ The Church Act of 1704.

Established Church, prepares us to speak of the Refugees in their several settlements in our State. We commence with that on

FRENCH SANTEE.

The Refugees to the Santee settled plantations or farms on or near the western bank of the River, on and from Wambaw Creek northwardly. Their Church was about fifteen miles north of the creek. The point on the north side of the creek, near its mouth, was settled by Daniel Huger and called "Wattahan." The residence of Philip Gendron was on the River, a short distance above the Church, at or near the place now known as Lenud's Ferry. There is an embankment here still called Gendron's Bank. These two points designate the locality of the settlement without strictly defining it. It consisted of numerous farms, some near, some remote from the river, but the places on the Wambaw seem to have been the southern limit.

The plantation on the southern side of Wambaw, nearly opposite Wattahan, was settled by Mr. Elias Horry and was called Wambaw. He was not among the first Immigrants. He arrived in 1690 and married the daughter of Daniel Huger. The house of Mr. Elias Horry was standing a few years ago and was described to the writer by persons who had seen it. It was a tall and quaint structure. The basement was of brick with two stories of wood and a roof with three gables. The steps led to the second story, resting upon a small verandah. The basement was high and used for offices. The second story was finished with wooden and rather heavy panelling. The tract had been divided and the western portion upon which the house stood sold. The eastern part is still held by descendants of the original settler, the family of the late Mrs. Frederick Rutledge, a daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Horry. Upon it is a large and fine mansion, built a mile east of the house above

described, in good preservation. This place, long the seat of a refined hospitality, is well known as "Hampton."

Associated with French Santee is "Jamestown." It was the locality of the Church before it was a Town. The site had advantages. The river here forms a bluff, in some places sloping to the water's edge. Here was and is a landing place. The Church stood on the river, less than fifty yards from it. There are no remains of the Town. The site of the Church is known and near it were graves which are remembered but are now obliterated.

The Estate of the late Samuel J. Palmer now owns the land upon which Jamestown was laid out. It has long been known as "Mount Moriah." ⁽¹⁾

The writer was in possession of a Title Deed to one of the lots in Jamestown. It is lost and its date is not recollected but it was executed by Commissioners. It had several signatures and seals. This implies some public authority but none appears upon the Statute Book. ⁽²⁾

The Town is supposed never to have prospered. The Refugees were farmers but had to trade with Indians and of necessity some trade with Charlestown. Business and convenience required a centre of intercourse, and the Church and the Landing probably suggested the place. Mr. John Lawson to whom we are indebted for the most graphic account we have of these people, speaks once of the French Town but does not name it. ⁽³⁾

Mr. Lawson visited this settlement in January, 1700-1. He left Charleston on Saturday 28th December, 1700, with six Englishmen, three Indian men and one woman, wife of the Indian guide. They went in a large Canoe by the

¹ This account of the site of Jamestown was received from Dr. John L. Palmer who now lives upon a contiguous plantation.

² A rough plat of the Town has lately come into the possession of Mr. Wilmot G. DeSaussure, but without date. I understand there is a plat among the papers of the late Mr. Thomas Gaillard of Mobile.

³ Voyage to Carolina, and Journal, &c, by John Lawson, Surveyor General of No. Ca. London, 1709.

passage through the marshes lying northward of Sullivan's and the other Islands along the coast. He was the first traveller who left his personal impressions of this settlement and as the Book is scarce I prefer transcribing to condensing the notices he has recorded.

"The first place we designed for" says Mr. Lawson, "was Santee River, on which there is a Colony of French Protestants, allowed and encouraged by the Lords Proprietors. On Friday, 3rd of January. we entered Santee River's mouth, where is fresh water, occasioned by the extraordinary current that comes down continually. With hard rowing we got two leagues up the river, lying all night in a swampy piece of ground. We set forward very early in the morning to seek some better quarters. As we rowed up the river (Saturday 4th Jany.) we found the land towards the mouth and for about sixteen miles up it, scarce anything but swamp and "pocosin" affording vast Cypress trees, of which the French make Canoes that will carry fifty or sixty barrels. After the tree is moulded and dug, they saw them in two pieces, and so put a plank between, and a small keel, to preserve them from the Oyster banks, which are innumerable in the creeks and bays between the French settlement and Charlestown. They carry two masts and Bermuda sails, which makes them very handy and fit for their purpose; for although their river fetches its first rise from the mountains, and continues its current some hundreds of miles ere it disgorges itself, having no Sound, Bay or Sand banks betwixt the mouth thereof and the Ocean; notwithstanding all this, with the vast stream it affords at all seasons, and the repeated freshes it so often alarms the inhabitants with, by laying under waste great parts of their country, yet the mouth is barred, affording not above four or five feet of water at the entrance.

"There being a strong current in Santee River caused us to make small way with our oars. With hard rowing we got that night to Mons. Engee's house, which stands about 15 miles up the River, being the first Christian dwelling

we met withal in that Settlement, and were very courteously received by him and his wife.

“Many of the French follow a trade with the Indians, living very conveniently for that interest. There is about seventy families seated on this river, who live as decently and happily as any planters in these southward parts of America. The French, being a temperate, industrious people, some of them bringing little of effects, yet by their endeavours and mutual assistance among themselves, (which is highly to be commended) have outstript the English, who brought with them larger fortunes, tho’ as it seems less endeavour to manage their talent to the best advantage. ’Tis admirable to see what time and industry will, with God’s blessing, effect.

“We lay all night at Mons. Eugee’s, and next morning set out further, to go the remainder of our voyage by land. At noon we came up with several French plantations, meeting with several creeks by the way. The French were very officious in assisting with their small dories to pass over these waters, whom we met coming from their Church, being all of them very clean and decent in their apparel, their houses and plantations suitable in neatness and contrivance. They are all of the same opinion with the Church of Geneva, there being no difference among them concerning punctilios of their Christian faith; which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood, living among themselves as one tribe or kindred, every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen, preserving his estate and reputation, with the same exactness and concern, as he does his own, all seeming to share in the misfortune and rejoice at the advance and rise of their Brethren.” (1)

“Towards the afternoon we came to Mons. L’Jandro (Gendron) where we got our dinner; there coming some French ladies whilst we were there, who were lately come

(1) Page 13.

from England, and Mons. L'Grand, a worthy Norman, who hath been a great sufferer in his Estate by the persecution in France against those of the Protestant Religion. This gentleman very kindly invited us to make our stay with him all night, but we being intended further that day, took our leave, returning acknowledgments of their favours." (¹)

"About 4 in the afternoon, we passed a large Cypress Run in a small canoe. The French Doctor sent his negro to guide us over the head of a large swamp; so we got that night to Mons. Galliare's (Gaillard) the Elder, who lives in a very curious contrived house, built of brick and stone which is gotten near the place. Near here, comes in the Road from Charlestown and the rest of the English settlement, it being a very good way by land, and not above 36 miles, although more than 100 by water; and the most difficult way I ever saw, occasioned by reason of the multitude of Creeks lying along the Main, keeping their course through the Marshes, turning and winding like a Labarynth, have the tide of Ebb and Flood, twenty times in less than three leagues going." (²)

"The next morning very early we ferry'd over a creek that runs near the house, and after an hours travel in the woods, we came to the River side, &c.

"The Indian guide ferry'd us in that little vessel over Santee River 4 miles, and 84 miles in the woods, which the overflowing of the freshes had made a perfect sea of, there running an incredible current in the River, which had cast our small craft and us away, had we not had this Sewee Indian with us; who are excellent artists in managing these small canoes. Santee River at this time, from the usual depth of water, was risen perpendicular 36 feet, always making a Breach from her Banks, about this season of the year. The French and Indians affirmed to me, they never knew such an extraordinary flood before." (³)

¹ Page 13.

² Page 14.

³ Pages 14 & 15.

“We intended for Mons. Galliare’s Junior, but was lost, although the Indian was born in that country, it having received so strange a metamorphosis.” They reached at last the place they sought, where they were courteously treated by several French Inhabitants, “wondering at our undertaking such a voyage, &c.” “After we had refreshed ourselves, we parted from a very kind, loving and affable people, &c.” “This day we travelled about thirty miles, and lay all night at a house which was built for the Indian trade. The Master thereof, we had parted with at the French Town, who gave us leave to make use of his mansion.” (¹)

Mr. Lawson visited this people about fourteen years after we suppose their settlement to have been formed and he describes a condition of comfort and convenience which could scarcely have been attained in a much shorter time. Their houses, their plantations, their social relations and their Church are evidences that they chose their location promptly and planted in the wilderness simultaneously, the Faith that had united them.

Mr. Lawson’s pleasant sketch recalls an anecdote, illustrative of their social condition, which I record as I heard it when a boy from an aged relative. Mr. Philip Gendron had made a voyage to Charlestown, no doubt in one of the large canoes described by Lawson, a voyage for sales and supplies and he had undertaken friendly commissions for many of his neighbors but his return had been delayed. So long had the voyage been protracted, that fears were felt that he had been lost. During this period of anxious suspense, on a Sunday whilst the Minister was preaching, he suddenly paused and was observed to look intently forward as if to assure himself. He then lifted up his hands and said “Voila, Monsieur Gendron.” The Congregation rose in mass, and they and their Minister went forth to meet and welcome Mons. Gendron as he ascended the slope.

¹ Page 16.

Mr. Lawson's sketch enables us to appreciate the following passages, which close the family record left by the Immigrant Daniel Huger. Immediately after an entry of the marriage of his son to Elizabeth Gendron in January, 1709-10, he adds, "And the same day, gave my son Daniel half my estate. Oh Lord in Christ, our blessed Redeemer, I here acknowledge with all hamility, that thy chastisement hath been mixed with wonderful mercies. Thou hast preserved us from the persecutors of thy blessed Gospel, and brought us into this remote part of the world, where thou hast guided us and blessed us here in a wonderful manner; and we now enjoy the benefit of thy dear Gospel in peace and quietness through our dear Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

Supposing the greater number of these settlers to have located themselves in 1687, they preserved the original character of their Church about twenty years.

We have seen the stages by which the Protestant Episcopal Church obtained an Establishment by law, and the means provided in England, especially through the Society for spreading the Gospel in foreign parts, for nurturing the Churches of the Establishment. That Society was ready to furnish Ministers, ordained according to its views, and only awaited the completion of the measures in progress and which were consummated in November, 1706. It appears by an Act of April preceding that the French settlers on Santee, on their petition, were erected into a Parish in accordance with the Act of 1704. This Act however, and all the preceding Acts in relation to the Establishment, were repealed on 30th November, 1706, the day of the passage of the new Act since known as the Church Act. By this last Act the French Church at Santee and Orange Quarter were made parts of the Established Church. The 22nd Section of that Act recognizes the fact that "the far greater part, if not all, of the Inhabitants belonging to the parish of St. Denis in Orange Quarter, and also the Inhabitants belonging to the parish of St. James on Santee River, were born in the

Kingdom of France, and have not the advantage to understand the English tongue," and provides for their conducting the service in the French tongue, "provided that they use the Translation of the Book of Common Prayer, &c. by Dr. John Durell."

Dr. Dalcho in his chapter on St. James Santee says, "It consisted chiefly of French Refugees, conforming to the worship of the Church of England." He adds, "St. James contained upwards of 100 French Refugees who had fled from the persecutions after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz in 1685. There were likewise 60 English families, &c." The French Church at Jamestown was made the Parish Church by the Act of 1706.

Dr. Dalcho says "The Rev. Philippe de Richbourg was its first Minister." He must mean after the Church was made part of the Establishment. The Rev. Pierre Robert probably was. We know that he was among them about 1695. He and his family are mentioned, under the head of Residents of Santee, in a List of Persons who desired naturalization, which must have been prepared anterior to the Act of March, 1696, ⁽¹⁾ and we have evidence of his ministerial relation up to January, 1709-10. In the record of Daniel Huger, already referred to, is the following entry. "Thursday, August 17th, 1704. My dear daughter Margaret Huger was married by License of the Hon. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Governor, directed to Mr. Peter Roberts, Minister of the Holy Gospel at Santee, to Mr. Elias Horry, born at Paris, in France," and again, "January 25th, 1709-10, my son Daniel Huger was married by a License from the Hon. Governor Trott, directed to said Mr. Peter Roberts, Minister of the Holy Gospel, to Miss Elizabeth Gendron."

Mr. DeRichbourg had been the Minister of the French Settlement at the Manniken Town above the falls of the James River, Virginia. Mr. Lawson says, "Most of the

¹ Liste des Français et des Suisses, published in the *So. Intelligencer* in 1822, and republished in Pamphlet form, Charleston, 1868.

French, who lived in that Town on James River, are removed to Trent River in North Carolina, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in August, 1708.” (1) He afterwards repeats the statement, adding “as their Minister Monsieur Philip de Richbourg told me, who was at Bathtown, on Pamlico Sound, when I was taking leave of my friends.” (2) It thus appears that Mr. Richbourg had not left the settlers on Trent River in August, 1708.

The French Settlers on the Santee supported themselves by Tillage, by procuring Naval Stores, and by trade with the Indians with whom they maintained kind and peaceful relations. But they had chosen an unfortunate location. The Freshets in the River interrupted and thwarted their pursuits and after a time a disposition arose to remove to lands higher up the River, into what afterwards became St. Stephen's Parish, then safer from freshets. This section had been gradually acquiring settlers, had obtained the name of English Santee, and in 1754 was incorporated as a Parish under the title of St. Stephen's Parish. The Parish Church is about 19 miles above the site of Jamestown. To this locality most of the inhabitants of French Santee had, about the middle of the last century, removed to great advantage.

Of the remarkable growth and prosperity of St. Stephen's Parish, and then of its decline under adverse influences upon the River, we have an interesting account in a letter addressed by the late Samuel Du Bose of St. John's Berkeley (but a native of St. Stephen's) to Professor Frederick A. Porcher, and published in Charleston in 1858. He states, (3) that “about 20 years before the Revolutionary war (about 1756), the belt of land, bordering on the Santee through the whole extent of the Parish of St. Stephen's, was the garden

(1) Page 83.

(2) Page 114.

(3) Page 3.

spot of South Carolina. The lands were not liable to the high and sudden freshets, to which they have since been subject. The upper country being then but partially cleared and cultivated, the greater part of its surface was covered with leaves, the limbs and trunks of decaying trees, and various other impediments to the quick discharge of the rains which fall upon it, into the creeks and ravines leading into the River; consequently much of the water was absorbed by the earth, or evaporated before it could be received into its channels; and even there, so many obstacles yet awaited its progress, that heavy contributions were still levied upon it. The River too had time to extend along its course the first influx of water, before that from more remote tributary sources could reach it. Owing to these and other causes the Santee was comparatively exempt from those freshets, which have since blighted the prosperity of what was once a second Egypt. A breadth of three or four miles of swamp, as fertile as the slime of the Nile could have made it, was safe for cultivation; and its margins were thickly lined with the residences of as prosperous a people as ever enjoyed the blessings of God. Some there were who lived in the swamp, and even on the very bank of the River. The exceeding fertility of the soil rendered labor scarcely necessary to make it a wilderness of vegetable luxuriance. The great quantity of decomposing matter, and the myriads of Insects incident thereto, and the abundant yield of seeds, furnished by the rank weeds and grass, caused the Poultry yard to teem with a well fed population; and the pastures of crab grass and cane, which are yet proverbial, poured into the dairies streams of the richest milk, and enlivened the scene at morn and evening, with the lowing of herds of fat cattle. Nor were, swine in abundance, and countless fish of the finest quality from the exhaustless river, wanting to fill up the measure of the people's comfort."

Again he says, "I have never listened to representations of comfort more perfect and exuberant than those often given

me, of the scenes I am attempting to describe, by those who had known and loved them.”

“Such was the country,” he adds, ⁽¹⁾ “that attracted the attention of so many of our Huguenot Ancestors, and induced them to abandon their first homes in St. James’ Santee and seek one so much more congenial to the Indigo plant, at that time the staple product of the State, and made more profitable by the bounty granted by the Mother Country. One after another moved up, as opportunity offered for the purchase of land, and in a very few years, the population exceeded that of any other portion of the State out of Charleston.”

But adverse changes in the influences upon the River supervened about the commencement of the Revolution. Freshets became more frequent. To the ruinous effects of the war was added this more permanent adversity. For the period of ten years following “the peace”, says Mr. Dubose, “no income realised on account of freshets, in many cases not even provisions.” The result was the gradual abandonment of the region which Mr. Dubose described in such glowing terms. The people removed to the parish lying westward of St. Stephen’s, the parish of St. John’s, Berkeley. There the agricultural tastes and prudent habits of the descendants of the French were developed in a new culture with remarkable success.

The History of the Settlers on French Santee thus became associated with the history of the Cotton culture in South Carolina. The “Santee Cottons” (a black seed well known in commerce) are the product of this belt of country chiefly, and were and are still cultivated for the most part by their descendants. Mr. Dubose in an address pronounced before the Black Oak Agricultural Society at their request in 1858, has furnished from personal knowledge a record of that culture. I must content myself by referring to this record as an appropriate sequel to the outline I have presented.

¹ Page 5.

We will recur to St. John's, Berkeley, but must first relate what is known of the original French Settlement at

ORANGE QUARTER.

This settlement was in the northern or north-west part of St. Thomas' Parish. It was south of the T, below the eastern branch of Cooper River. A creek known as French Quarter Creek which empties into that branch derives its name from this settlement. Their Church is said to have been upon this creek. The Rev. Mr. Le Pierre was their Minister, but at what period I am unable to ascertain. Like the French at Santee, they maintained their own worship until after the passage of the Church Act of 1706, by which it was made the parish of St. Denis. But this was not a territorial division from St. Thomas' but merely a designation of the French Church within it. The Parish was however called "the Parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis."

The earliest record of this settlement I have found is a deed of conveyance from Pierre Fouré to Pierre de St. Julien de Malacare of 420 acres on the Eastern Branch of Cooper River, dated 17th December, 1686, drawn on the back of the plat and certificate of admeasurement to Fouré dated 14th February, 1684-5. Fouré must therefore have emigrated before the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. We have also a certificate in Latin of a marriage at this plantation of Mr. Pierre de St. Julien de Malacare of his daughter Charlotte to René Ravenel.

The information respecting this settlement has nearly passed away. By the recital in an Act of Assembly dated — — — 1764, we find that the families of the French, which formerly worshiped here, being then acquainted with the English language, attended the Parish Church of St. Thomas. That Act therefore authorized the Vestry and Wardens of St. Thomas' to sell the Church no longer required for use. It was sold accordingly, and purchased as a residence, for a very small sum, by Dr. — — Meyer.

From Humphrey's History of the Society for spreading the Gospel in Foreign parts we learn that the Rev. Mr. Francis Le Jau, a missionary sent to South Carolina, arrived in 1706 and took charge of St. James' Parish, Goosecreek, which he served till his death in 1717. The following extract gives interesting information. "He was not only very diligent in his proper cure at Goosecreek, but also assisted at other places where a Minister was wanting. The Church at Charleston being some time after his arrival vacant he used to preach once a month there, where at Easter he had but 24 communicants, tho' there were above 500 persons of age in the place." "He sometimes visited the French Settlement at Orange Quarter, then entirely destitute of a Minister, and administered the Sacraments among them. This settlement consisted then of about 32 families, out of which there were 50 persons communicants." The dates of his visits are not given. He appears to have been the third settled Minister of St. James, Goosecreek. His Parish had about 100 families. The first year he had 35 communicants. "His congregation grew still more numerous, the Communicants increased, and in 1714 they arose to 70 English and 8 Negroes."

We recur now to the Settlement in

ST. JOHN'S BERKELEY.

This Parish was incorporated by the Church Act of 1706. It probably took its name from the Act of 1704, which that of 1706 superseded. But it had residents previously. The first French settlers removed hither from the Santee and from Orange Quarter. When they went I have no certain information. The Rev. Robert Maule a missionary from the Society for spreading the Gospel in Foreign Parts arrived in 1707, and was soon after assigned by the Governor and Council to this Parish. "Upon his first settling here, the English had no Church to perform divine worship in; but about ten French families had built them a small Church,

and their Minister Mr. Truillard offered Mr. Maule the use of his Church, which he accepted, and preached often there; and such of the French as understood English came to hear him." (1)

It thus appears that in 1707 there was a small congregation of French Protestants with a Church and a Minister. It is known from tradition that their church, a small wooden building, stood a little east of the place now known as Simpson's basin on the Santee canal, (about midway between the present Biggin and Black Oak Churches). The Parish Church at Biggin, according to Mr. Humphrey, was commenced in 1710. The Minister of this little French Church was the Rev. Florent Philipe Trouillard. He had officiated in the French Reformed Church of Charleston and was probably one of its original ministers. He removed to St. John's, Berkeley. There is a tract of land not far from Black Oak still called "Trouillard's." The use of this Church by the French was not continued. It appears, from a will of Mr. Chastaigner that they held their worship at Pooshee the plantation owned by the Immigrant René Ravenel and still owned by his lineal descendant. Mr. Chastaigner left by will a small legacy to the poor of the Reformed Church worshipping at Pooshee. It was a nuncupative will made in the presence of Mr. Henry Le Noble. I had a copy of this will taken by myself from the Public Records. It is lost and I do not recollect its date.

The Rev. Mr. Trouillard died in St. John's in 1712. The church was too small to continue a separate worship and we presume died with its Pastor. Mr. Trouillard left a daughter who after her father's death went to England.

We have seen that the Parish of St. Stephen's became the resort of the descendants of the French, chiefly from French Santee, and that the freshets of the Santee carried the same people into the upper and middle portions of St. John's,

¹ Humphrey's History, Carroll's Coll. p. 543, and Dr. Dalcho, p. 255

Berkeley. But these removals took place after the original churches at Santee and Orange Quarter and St. John's, Berkeley had become merged in the Episcopal. They were worshippers according to other forms and views than those brought over and established by the Immigrants. The necessity or expediency of the change had been determined by those who preceded them.

We have now no means of knowing certainly the immediate results of the change upon those who under the Act of 1706 were parties to it. It would contradict all probability to suppose that the original French could either readily or cordially have transferred their allegiance from their own to the Episcopal Rites. A few years only had elapsed since popular sentiment had denied the Scriptural authority of their church and ministry. True, that sentiment had been discountenanced by the Lords Proprietors. True also, their political disabilities had been removed and they had ten years been recognised as Citizens on conditions easily complied with. Full affiliation between colonists of every class was desirable and tradition says it was deemed the interest of the French to promote oneness of sentiment and language. But religious opinions are not easily relinquished. Religious prejudices are not easily laid aside. Habits of thought must have been combined intimately with their religious experiences. However controlling the policy; however honest the purpose; however sincere the effort; the French Protestants were unfitted for the change. It required them to yield their sense of the relation between the church and its ministers.

Their Minister had been their Pastor and Teacher, with authority in the church but with no mysterious agency between God and man, their Presbyter and their Priest. It required them to yield the cardinal principle of their church organization, the purity in orders of the ministry, which formed not only their own but the basis of church organization with every Protestant church in the world except the Church of England, and although the assertion of the Church

of England on that point was not absolute and exclusive, yet many of its members and many of its ministers held then, as they hold now, the necessity of their three orders to a perfect church. The peculiar views of the French may have been treated with kindness but they became subject to hear reproach cast upon the Communion they had sustained with so much ardor and upon the people with whom they had suffered so nobly, reproach indirect if not explicit, implied if not expressed. To this in later times their descendants have been frequent listeners.

With respect to other Theological dogmas, strictly construed, there is no real difference between the Reformed Church of France and the Church of England. But there was and is in the former a simplicity of teaching in regard to Baptism, the Lord's Supper, to Absolution and to Confirmation, that excluded the subtle and mystic theories that still attend those subjects in the latter.

The change argued, I think, a sense of stern necessity but it was unfortunate.

I have no information respecting the religious habits of their descendants, who about the middle of the last century removed to St. Stephen's, and where for a time they enjoyed so remarkable prosperity. But memory and tradition do inform of the external religious condition of their posterity in the middle and upper portion of St. John's, Berkeley. From the period of the Revolutionary war until within a few years the condition of the Episcopal Church in that section of country was very peculiar. The breaking up of the churches during the war, the difficulty of obtaining ministers after it, and the want of confidence in those that could be obtained, may account in some measure for that condition. But the reorganization of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina was commenced in 1785. Its recovery, like that of other churches, was slow. But its career became a prosperous one. Yet in the section of country referred to there was a reluctance in the male descendants of the French to unite

with the church as communicants. I have been informed that for many years there was but one male communicant and he was of English descent, and then afterwards and for several years there were but two. It was not so with the females. They really constituted the church. Yet the men were men of high probity, valued members of society, and constant worshippers at the Episcopal Church which before and long after the Revolution was the only Church in that parish. ⁽¹⁾ Yet the external Church failed to impress itself upon the male population. An indirect impression was no doubt made through the females. To them the early training of the young belongs and the Book of Common Prayer which every family possessed was an important medium. Few of them ever heard any other form of worship and the Marriage and the Burial Services, especially the latter, were closely and deeply associated with their religious influences. Thus the influences of the Church they had inherited, and the Church they had so imperfectly adopted, became associated in the peculiar religious character of the people.

How is the fact I have stated to be explained but upon the idea of an inherited lack of cordiality in a change from the old church to the new which had supplanted it. Many of the men, judging from their lives, were men of piety. There were among them instances of death scenes, still remembered, manifesting all the calmness and peace of Faith, yet it did not seem to enter into their idea of religious duty to unite with the Church. I do not state these things to approve them. Their's was a great error, but I suggest the facts to account for an apparent anomaly in religious experiences.

I am gratified to learn that the peculiarity of which I have spoken has ceased and that males now unite in full

¹ The man of God, whom Mr. Dubose describes, in the pamphlet above referred to, as riding habitually 40 miles on horseback, to unite in the Sacrament of Mr. Macauley's Church, in Christ Church Parish, was an Englishman.

proportion in the Sacraments of the Church. I know not how the present generation regard the Church of their ancestors, but they are indebted to it more, probably, than they are aware. They are proud of their descent and its impress remains upon them. Much that Lawson said of their progenitors is applicable to them. Intelligent, kind and courteous, they have dispensed a simple and cheerful hospitality. Honest, frugal and prudent, they have, until the disasters of the late war, lived in the luxury of ease and abundance. Interested in public affairs but unambitious of place their politics have never marred their social feelings. Like others the younger people have indulged in travel and in enlarged social enjoyments. Still the predominating taste is now, as it formerly was, for the relations and duties and joys of home. We recognize in all this a transmitted education; an inheritance of sentiment; a moral ethnology derived unconsciously from the Reformed Church of France.

I know too little of the descendants of the Huguenots elsewhere to judge of transmitted influences among them. The Refugees to the American Colonies established themselves in Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. They were an intelligent and industrious people and everywhere, I believe, founded churches, all of which have been absorbed by other churches, excepting the Church in Charleston. The Refugees fled from their homes and their occupations under circumstances which deprived them generally of the means they had possessed. There were many exceptions to the general fact, but it is presumed they were unable to sustain separate Societies and separate Churches. The history of each would probably show that necessity, not choice, led to the relinquishment of their original worship.

THE CHURCH AT CHARLESTON.

Our Church was formed, as already stated, by the Immigrants upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. Its tenets are contained in the articles entitled "Confession de Foi, faite d'un common accord par les Églises reformées du Royaume de France," in the year 1539 and its Government and Discipline were, as far as local circumstances permitted, in accordance with the Book entitled "Le Discipline Ecclesiastique des Églises Reformées de France."

Its worship was Liturgical. The Book used as far back as memory extended is entitled, "La Liturgie, ou la manière de célébrer le Service Divin, qui est établi dans les Églises de la Principauté de Neufchatel et Valengin, Second édition, révu et corrigé à Neufchatel, chez Jonas Gallandre et Compagnie, 1737." This book was probably procured after the fire of 1740. The first edition, according to the preface, was printed in 1713, before which time it seems to have been customary for the Ministers at Neufchatel to use a manuscript copy. We therefore cannot affirm what Liturgy had been previously used. ⁽¹⁾ Why the Liturgy of Neufchatel was adopted is probably explained by the fact recited in the Act of Assembly of 1st May, 1691, that there had been a considerable number of Swiss among the Emigrants. Tradition states that the minister usually offered an extempore prayer after the Confession and before the Sermon. The principal prayer, called "The general Intercession," followed the sermon.

The Liturgy of Neufchatel and Valengin was provided with Canticles, that is with Divine Songs composed of passages of Scripture, not in metre, indicating the intention to combine chaunting and metrical Psalms and Hymns. But this church was unfurnished with instrumental music, and its psalmody was conducted according to the Book entitled

(1) Probably that of Geneva.

"Les Psaumes de David, mises en rime Française, par Clement Marot, et Theodore de Bezé," in which book the Psalms are set to notes. Copies of this Book were in possession of Huguenot families within the recollection of many of us, and I remember having seen in the minutes of our Church an order after the fire of 1740 for the importation of a supply of these books.

The Church was originally styled "L'Église Reformée Française de Charlestown." In certain leases on record, of the Lands of the Church in King Street, dated Oct. 1st, 1742, the Rev. Francis Guischard is styled "Clerk and Pastor of the Church of French Protestants in Charlestown." The Church was incorporated by Act of the General Assembly on 12th March, 1783, by the Title of "The Calvinistic Church of French Protestants." By an Act of Assembly of 20th December, 1826, the corporate name was changed to that of "The French Protestant Church in the City of Charleston." But the Church had gradually acquired with the public the title of "the Huguenot Church," a designation which, I think, happily combines the Historical and Doctrinal elements which belong to it.

THE REAL ESTATE HELD BY OUR CHURCH.

This consists of the site of the Church at the south east corner of Church and Queen Streets and the lot and house adjoining it, and the lots on the east side of King Street known in the original model of the Town as Numbers 92 and 93. Tradition has associated no other locality with our church than that which it now occupies and we know this to be among the oldest church sites in our City.

Dr. Dalcho, in describing the earlier years of the Town, says, ⁽¹⁾ "The streets were not distinguished by names for several years. In a deed of sale dated January 20th, 1696-7,

(1) Page 21.

Queen Street is described as a little street that leads from Cooper River to Ashley River." "In other deeds of the same period East Bay Street is described as a street running parallel with Cooper River; and Church Street as a street running parallel with Cooper River from Ashley River to the French Church." The latter words of the passage he puts between inverted commas. He probably took them from some deed then before him. He does not give the dates of the "other deeds" of the same period, but if they were really of the same period the French Church was on its present site in 1696-7. But it was probably there before that period. In the office of the Secretary of State there are two documents on record that relate to this lot. The first is a Record of a Certificate of admeasurement, dated 4th March, 1681, of Lot No. 65 in the model of the Town, to Michael Loudell, butting northwardly upon a little street running westwardly from Cooper River, &c., &c. The second is the Record of the Grant of the said Lot, annexed to the said Certificate, dated 6th March, 1681, to Michael Loveing, Lawyer, "now in the possession of said Michael Loveing." These papers are in the oldest book in the Secretary of State's office and are marked, "Ent. 7 Sept. 1682." In the same book the Index contains the Title "French Church" referring to a page, which page however is blank. The Record has been omitted. It is to be inferred that the Church obtained the Lot from Michael Loveing. It probably included the Church Lot and the adjoining lot south of it, upon which latter the Church built a house originally designed and for some time used as a parsonage. The date of Loveing's conveyance to the Church is not ascertained. Our early histories record an order of the Grand Council of 21st June, 1692, for the better observance of the Lord's Day, which contains the following clause, viz: "And it is further ordered, that the French Minister and officers of their Church be advised that they begin Divine Exercise at 9 o'clock in the morning, and about 2 in the afternoon, of which they are to

take due notice. and pay obedience thereunto." This order implies that they had then a place of worship and, as just stated, there is no tradition of any other than the present one. It is a fair inference that this was the place of worship anterior to the date of the order. They complained of this and of other grievances to the Lords Proprietors who in "Instructions to the Governor and Deputies at Ashley River in South Carolina, dated London, April 10th. 1693," used the following language, viz: "They also complain that they are required to begin their Divine worship at the same time that the English do, which is inconvenient to them, in regard that several of their congregation living out of town are forced to come and go by water: and for the convenience of such, they begin their Divine worship earlier or later as the tide serves, in which we would not have them molested."

The reason assigned for varying the time of service shows also the convenience of the present site. The water then flowed up to East Bay at the foot of Queen Street. The persons who came by water may have been settlers near the City. But it is not improbable that some of the settlers at Orange Quarter, especially the southern part of it, would unite in worship with their Brethren in Charlestown. I remember having read that the Huguenots who settled at New Rochelle would before they had a Church, walk to New York on Sunday to join their friends in worship a distance of 18 miles. ⁽¹⁾ We can scarcely estimate the ardour of men who had relieved themselves of the restraints of Intolerance and to whom freedom of worship was a positive joy.

These facts authorize the inference that the French Protestants had a church on this site in June, 1692, but their church was probably of still earlier date. The will of Cæsar Mozé dated — June, 1687, already referred to in connection with

¹ Since the above was written I have seen in Bolton's History of the Huguenots a notice of this fact and of the points on the road going and returning where they stopped for rest and refreshment.

the settlement at Orange Quarter, gives his legacy to the French Church in Charlestown, in trust for building of the Church at Orange Quarter. The French Protestants then probably had an edifice of some sort for worship in 1697. But our Church holds an Endowment from the Lords Proprietors, consisting of two lots on the East side of King Street Nos. 92 and 93 in the original plan of the Town. I adverted before to this endowment to show the date of the French Protestant Immigration. The warrant for laying out those lots and the Certificate of admeasurement of the Surveyor General, dated 9th December, 1686, states that the "addresses" for these lots were made to Landgrave Colleton, Governor, &c., by John Francis de Gignillat and Stephen DuSaul, "in order to the building of a church, in behalf of the French Protestants of this Province." The Grant which was annexed to it and bore date 14 November, 1701, recites the certificate, but conveys the lots to Henry Le Noble and Peter Burelet, their heirs and assigns, to the only use and behoof of the French Protestants aforesaid. The inference from the change of language is that, in the interval between 1686 and 1701, they had acquired a more convenient site for a church and the grant was therefore made general in its terms. The site acquired was probably the present one and it may have been obtained years before the Grant of the King Street Lots was taken out. The Town did not then extend west of Meeting Street. Lots on King Street were without the lines of defence and must then have had little or no value and according to the rules of the Surveyor General's office the Certificate of admeasurement gave a priority of right. A Grant would not have been issued to another applicant without notice to the first.

These Lots having been granted to Henry Le Noble and Peter Burelet, to the use and behoof of the French Protestants, the legal estate was in them. It seems to have been deemed necessary after the lapse of years to examine the course of descent and the minutes of the church contained

an opinion from some gentlemen of the law, by which it appeared that the descent of the Title had been traced with care; that the parties then having the legal Estate had been requested to unite in a deed to certain members of the church and their survivors in trust for the original purposes of the Grant and that they had readily done so. I do not remember the date of this entry, but under the — clause of the Act of Incorporation of 1783 the use became, in legal phrase, executed and the property vested absolutely in the Corporation.

The papers of the Hon. Theodore Trezevant, an eminent lawyer and in the latter part of life an associate Judge in this State, came after his death into the hands of George W. Cross, Esq. Among them he found the opinion referred to, or the draft of it, in the handwriting of the Judge who no doubt made the investigations and effected the arrangement.

The Brick tenement on the North of the King Street lands was often termed the old jail. Tradition says it was once used as a Gaol, but I remember no reference to the fact on the minutes, nor have found any either in the Statutes, or in any historical notice. The only early acts of our Church in reference to these lots that I can trace, are recorded in Book A. A. p. 377 to 400 in the office of Mesne Conveyances in Charleston, viz: The Record of five leases for fifty years, all dated 1st October, 1742, all made by Francis Guischard, Clerk and Pastor of the Church of French Protestants, and Gabriel Manigault, Isaac Mazyck, Paul Mazyck, Jacob Martin, John Neufville, Benj. D'Harriette and Gideon Foucheraud. They were Building Leases upon Special Terms. Other long and Special Leases were made from time to time, but they have terminated and the houses have for many years been rented upon the ordinary footing.

THE FIRE OF 1740.

The fire of 1740 in Charleston destroyed the Books of the Church. A Register of Baptism, Burials, Marriages, &c.,

opened immediately afterwards, records the fact on the first page. Tradition states that the Church was burnt in the fire, but the entry just mentioned does not state that the Church was burnt. The fire occurred on the 18th November, 1740. In the Carolina Gazette of 20th November the burning of the Church is not stated and from the range of the fire it is rather to be inferred that it was not.

The Books and perhaps other articles may have been at the residence of some officer. We may presume that the Church possessed Communion plate. There was no reference in the Books opened in 1740 to any nor to its loss. Yet that which was used from 1745 until the late Confederate war was presented soon after the fire by Gabriel Manigault, Esq. We may infer that he gave it to supply a loss. In the Church box handed over by Mr. Louis Roux, Treasurer, with the Church plate and the Communion Table cloths, were two round Pewter dishes supposed to have been used at the Communion. They were of English manufacture and probably were procured here after the fire. Covered with a white napkin they no doubt served their holy purpose acceptably.

The Ancient Church Plate just referred to consisted of a Tankard and two Cups or Chalice. There was no entry of its presentment on the minutes, but the following is a copy of an entry on the minutes of 14th November, 1785, (probably the first meeting after the Revolution), "Nous les Anciens de l'Église Française assemblés chez Monsieur Trezevant ce 14me Nov., 1785, pour affaires de l'Église, Monsieur Trezevant ayant déclaré qu'il avait entre ses mains,

- 1 Une Obligation, &c.
- 2 Un Indent de l'État, &c.
- 3 Deux Coupes. Un Pot d'argent, pour le Service de la Cene, donnés et marqués au nom de Monsieur Gabriel Manigault, le Grand père, &c."

The following is a memorandum of the Inscription, viz: The Pot or Tankard is marked G M in double cypher, the

doubling reversed, and under this engraved the following words, viz: "Donné pour l'usage de l'Église Française de Charlestown, 1745." The two Chalices inscribed each "Coupe de l'Église Française de Charlestown," without date.

THE MINUTES OF THE CHURCH IN CHARLESTOWN.

The loss of the early records by the fire of 1740 has deprived us of particulars respecting the organization of our Church. I had been favoured by Col. James Ferguson with several extracts he had made from an old French family Bible from which it appeared that the Rev. F. Phillipe Trouillard and the Rev. Elias Prioleau were probably the first Ministers of this Church, but these extracts have been lost in the late war. Col. Ferguson had retained copies of them, but he lost them with other papers when Pineville was partially burnt in 1865, and I cannot now trace the Bible from which they were taken. These are the only two Ministers mentioned in connection with this Church at that time. Mr. Trouillard was in Carolina in the latter part of 1686. It is certain that Mr. Prioleau left Pons, in France, in April, 1686, but we have no record of the date of his arrival here.

The order of Council of 21st June, 1692, spoke of the Ministers and officers of the French Church. The Pastors Tronillard and Prioleau probably served together. I think it probable that they served their Brethren without certain, if with any, compensation. In the will of the Rev. Elias Prioleau, witten in French and executed in Charlestown on 8th February, 1689-90, he styles himself "Minister of the Holy Gospel in the French Church of Charlestown." It would seem that he preached to other congregations also. The following is an extract from the will: "I direct my said wife" (his sole Executrix) "to give immediately after my death, five pounds Sterling, to the Church to whose service I shall be most ordinarily attached at the end of my days;

and if there are two which I serve with equal assiduity she shall give to each of the said churches Two pounds and a half Sterling. If she cannot pay in money the sum of Five pounds Sterling, either in whole or in part, she shall give the value of it in what she can." It is quite probable that at that period Ministers and people were obliged to exert themselves for their support. Mr. Prioleau owned a farm on Back or Medway River, a Branch of Cooper River, over against Côté Bas and opposite the settlement at Orange Quarter, and he no doubt gave his services at times to that settlement.

We have seen that Mr. Trouillard was the Minister in St. John's, Berkeley, in 1707, but it does not appear when he left the Church in Charlestown, nor have we any record of his previous history. I had in my possession a certificate of marriage in his handwriting in Latin. The hand and the diction show that he was an educated man.

The Pastor Prioleau died in 1699 and was buried at his farm on Back River. Of him we have some particulars, from a work published in France in the year 1848 entitled "*Historie des Églises Reformées de Pons, Gemogac, et Mertagne en Saint Onge, par A. Crottet, Pasteur à Pons.*" His sixth chapter relates the career of Elias Prioleau as Pastor at Pons. He had succeeded his father in the Pastorship. He entered upon his duties at Pons on 10th May, 1683, and served them until 15th April, 1685. The historian speaks of the perilous charge confided to him. All around him were the subjects of cruel and vexatious persecutions. The Edict of Nantz had been disregarded. At length its revocation in October, 1685, consummated their troubles. "On the 15th November following," he proceeds, "the Inhabitants of Pons who professed the reformed religion received notice of the Edict of Revocation. The greater part, fearing a continuance of the cruel persecutions they had suffered, felt constrained to sign a formula of abjuration which had been prepared in advance. Those who persisted had the grief of

seeing their children led to the mass, their daughters consigned to the Convents of Pons and of Saintes, and their sons to the control of the Jesuits. Others prepared to quit a country where they were prohibited the service of God in Spirit and in Truth. Prioleau could not decide to abandon a flock he had loved so dearly. He braved the danger and organised secret reunions. The 15th of April was the day of greatest grief to the Protestants who had resisted so many trials. Their temple was demolished. During the work of demolition of the Sanctuary where they had so often assembled in Prayer, Prioleau, who had assembled them, addressed to them one of the most touching of discourses on the 36 to 39 verses of the 10th chapter of St. Matthew. They listened to him shedding bitter tears." He adds: "From this moment we are entirely ignorant what was the fate of this faithful Minister. Perhaps, a victim of his zeal and devotion, he finished his days in the galleys of Rochefort; or perhaps, seeing that his presence was a continual danger to those who accorded to him an asylum, he took the resolution to retire to a strange country. Be this as it may, as long as he was at Pons he did not cease to manifest the qualities and virtues of a true servant of God." The sequel the historian did not know until the publication of Mr. Weiss's History of the Huguenots in Paris in 1853, when he learnt that the Pastor Prioleau had come to Carolina. He sought information respecting his descendants through foreign friends in New York, and the result was a correspondence, marked by kindness and interest, entitled to notice in a subsequent part of our narration. With the single remark of Mr. Crottet in one of his letters, that "the Reformed Church is an offshoot of the Church of Pons," we proceed with such account as we can give of the early Ministers of our Church.

We have no information of the immediate successors of Mr. Prioleau. The only name I find is that of Mr. Boisseau, who Dr. Ramsay says was the Minister in 1712. How

long before and after that year we know not. With this exception, there is an interval after the death of Mr. Prioleau. I have read in the letter book of Isaac Mazyck two letters addressed to Mr. Godin, a Refugee to Carolina, then in Europe. The first was dated in 1724, the other in 1725. The first is in reply to a letter from Mr. Godin, who must have been requested to make efforts to procure a Minister, and who had stated that having occasion to leave London, he had committed the matter to his brother. Mr. Mazyck complains that he had transferred this important commission to one known to favour the union of our Church with the Episcopal. His second letter is despondent. He says efforts now will be too late, the Church is going over to the Episcopal Establishment. His apprehensions we know were not realized, but these letters show how nearly this Church had then lost its distinctive character. The Church had, no doubt, been deeply agitated. Their brethren in the country parishes had relinquished their original worship. The same measure had been adopted in other colonies. Men with families were induced to provide for them an uninterrupted worship. To the progress of opinion respecting the Establishment, and specially to the building of St. Philip's Church, the embarrassments of the French Church are to be attributed. The Act for building St. Philip's Church was passed on 1st March, 1710. It was to be built at public expense. It was to be sustained, as part of the Establishment, out of the public treasury. It had the promise of permanency and prosperity, and the wisdom of an Establishment was a general sentiment at that day.

The oldest book now possessed by St. Philip's Church is a book of Minutes of the Vestry and Wardens, commencing 10th April, 1732. At that date we find the names of Col. Samuel Prioleau and Gabriel Manigault, Huguenots, who were Vestrymen, and soon afterwards John Laurens was one of the Wardens. Pierre Manigault's grant for his pew, No. 20, bears date 17th August, 1724, and the family have ever

since worshipped there. But the name has always, until within a few years, been in the membership of the French Church. They have an ancient vault in the yard in which their dead of succeeding generations have reposed. Whilst we may lament the diversion, for which there were so many just reasons, and to which, in process of time, all had to yield, we must admire the constancy of those who, under so many discouragements, preserved and transmitted the original character of this Church. From these difficulties the French Church in Charleston seems to have recovered, from the following note in Mr. Burns' History of the French Refugees.⁽¹⁾ He says: "In the year 1731, the London Walloon Church received a letter from the congregation at Charlestown, requesting a Pastor be sent them, who would receive £80 per annum, and £25 more for his passage. The letter is signed, Peter F , Etienne Mormier, Mathurin Boigard, Jean Le Breton, Andre DeVeaux, Anthoine Bonnean, Jacob Satur, Joel Poinset, Jean Garnier, Jacques Le Chantre, C. Birot."

The following is a list of Ministers of our Church, copied from one made by Col. G. W. Cross, and in his handwriting. I do not know the sources of his information. He may have taken it, in whole or in part, from the Minutes. His mother was a sister of Judge Trezevant, and in early life a worshipper in the Church. Her recollections may have aided him. From Ramsay (²) we ascertain that the Rev. Mr. Boissean officiated in 1712 in the Church, and that in 1725 it was vacant.

From some year after this latter date, there was
to 1734, Rev. Mr. Lescot.
1734 to 1752, Rev. François Guischard.
1753 to 1758, Rev. John Pierre Tetard.
1759 to 1772, Rev. Barthlemi Henri Himeli.

¹ Page 19.

² Vol. 2, Page 39.

- 1774 to 1780, Rev. Pierre Levrier.
 1780 to 1785, the Church was without a Minister.
 1785 to 1789, Rev. Barthlemi Henri Himeli who returned
 to Charleston after a residence of twelve
 years in Switzerland.
 1791 to 1795, Rev. John Paul Coste.
 1795 to 1796, Rev. Peter Daniel Bourdillon.
 1796 to 1805, without a Minister.
 1805 to 1808, Rev. Marin De Larny.
 1808 to 1815, without a Minister.
 1816 to 1819, Rev. Robert Henry.
 1819 to 1823, Rev. Mr. Courlat.

In the foregoing list the Rev. Pierre Levrier is named a Minister from 1774 to 1780. My impression is, from some proceedings in our lost Minutes, that he was never the Pastor but had served the Church temporarily, and perhaps at different periods, when the Church was vacant. He was a teacher of the French Language in Charleston, and lived to a great age. I remember, when a boy, having seen him—an infirm man, very thin, with flowing hair, perfectly white.

The proceedings to which I have referred arose out of an inquiry connected with his need of assistance. For a considerable time Mr. Levrier received from our Church \$4.00 per week, and I remember in the Minutes an order “that half a dozen of the best old Madeira Wine be sent him occasionally.” It was placed in charge of Mr. Anthony Gabeau, in whose house, I think, he then resided.

In the list there is no interval between the term of the Rev. Mr. Coste and Mr. Bourdillon. This is probably an error, as Mr. Bourdillon came from Europe by invitation to take our Church. He left Geneva in 1795, and entered upon his duties in April, 1796. He made a most favourable impression and won a deep interest both as a man and a preacher, but his career was a short one. On the 13th June, 1796, the “great fire” of that year occurred, which,

commencing in Lodge Alley near East Bay, extended to the Market, then situate at the corner of Broad and Meeting Streets, the site of the present City Hall. The French Church was blown up in the hope of arresting the fire, but in vain. The destruction of the Church created a general sympathy with Mr. Bourdillon and with his congregation. By several of the Churches that sympathy was strongly expressed. Some invited the congregation to worship with them until arrangements could be made for the resumption of their former services. Others tendered the use of their churches for a portion of the Sabbath, for divine services according to our own usages. No conclusion had been formed. Mr. Bourdillon was requested by the congregation to preach a sermon at an early day on the calamity they had suffered, and it was announced that he would conduct this solemn service in the Archdale Street Congregational Church on the next Sabbath. But their calamity was not yet full. Before the day appointed Mr. Bourdillon sickened. He had made great efforts to save the Church during the fire. His exertions and fatigue had brought on a fever, which terminated fatally. He died on Sunday evening, the 17th July, aged 41 years, leaving a widow and son. The authorities of the Church took charge of the solemnities of the occasion. The cemetery of our Church was covered by the fragments of the ruined edifice, and the remains of the lamented Pastor were interred in the cemetery of St. Philip's Church, in the part west of Church Street.

Thus deprived in a few days of Church and Pastor, their new hopes and expectations disappointed, with added relations and obligations, the spirit of the small and lately gathered congregation was appalled by their calamities, but alive to the duties they had imposed their meetings were frequent and their proceedings full of interest. The comfort of the widow and son received prompt attention. Strangers to the climate, comparative strangers to the people, Mrs. Bourdillon's desires and views were consulted and met. During

this period Mr. John Huger was the President of the Corporation and Chairman of the Elders. His personal care for the comfort of Mrs. Bourdillon and son gave interest to his official agency in the measures proper to the occasion and he brought to them the high tone of a noble nature. A committee was appointed to report on the condition and means of the Corporation. After providing for her present comfort and her return to Europe, the Church voted an annuity of £60 to the widow for the use of herself and son during her widowhood, and in the event of her marriage or death, £30 to the son during his minority. The resolution was carried out. Mrs. Bourdillon died in 1816. Her son being then of age and in a counting house in Bordeaux the annuity ceased. The Church was rebuilt in 1800, but the congregation had, of course, been dispersed. Effort was then made to restore its worship by services in French and English. The Rev. Mr. Robert Henry, a native of Charleston who had spent years in Europe and was highly educated, returned home early in 1816, and in the following June was invited to supply our Church, where he preached alternately in French and English.⁽¹⁾ Another authority says, he preached in French once a month.⁽²⁾ The services in English were conducted with a Translation of the Services for the Lord's Day, made by Mr. Henry. In December, 1818, Mr. Henry was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the South Carolina College at Columbia and resigned his position in our Church.

This experiment of services in French and English was not satisfactory. It made parties in the Church. A few French gentlemen who were members of the Corporation induced that body to make another effort to revive the former French services, and the Rev. Mr. Courlat was elected to the Church. I have already stated the failure of this effort, and the resolu-

¹ Southern Quarterly Review, April, 1856, p. 189.

² Duyckinck Ency. of American Literature.

tion to prepare for re-opening the Church with its proper Liturgies rendered into English.

This measure was adopted in 1828, when a committee was appointed to prepare, or cause to be prepared under their supervision, a translation of the Book of Liturgies which had been used in the Church, and to adapt it to public service in our country, with authority to employ persons to make, or aid in making, the translations. The committee were the Hon. Elias Horry, Chairman, and Messrs. Joseph Manigault, William Mazyck, Senr., George W. Cross, Daniel Ravenel, Thomas S. Grinké, and William M. Frazer.

These gentlemen soon afterwards entered their work. Mr. Frazer attended only the first or preliminary meeting. He removed to Augusta, where he resided several years. He then removed to Mobile, where he resided until his death in 1863.

At the first meeting it was resolved to dispense with a translator out of the committee, as three of the members had offered to make the translations, each undertaking a portion of the services. These three members were Mr. Horry, Mr. Cross, and Mr. Grinké. They resolved to commence with the Confession of Faith. They agreed, on account of the importance of this part of the work, that each would prepare a translation of the Articles of Faith, and to submit the three to the committee for their criticism and approval. The three translations were made, and a version agreed upon and reported. This was printed in quarto form, the French and English in parallel columns, before any other part of the book was completed. At a subsequent time our Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Howard, received as a present a copy of Quick's Synodicon which contains an ancient translation of the Articles of Faith, whereupon our Church appointed a committee to compare our translation with that in Mr. Quick's work. After careful examination this committee reported in favour of retaining, without amendment, the translation made and published by our Church.

It was distinctly understood, both by the Corporation and the committee, that the original principles of the Church were to be maintained, and that the translation would be made with careful accuracy in regard to doctrines. Hence the three translations of the articles of Faith; hence, also, the translation of the Apostles' Creed will be found literally exact.

The Liturgies embody throughout the thoughts of Holy Scripture. Whenever the correspondence was seen, the language of Scripture was used in the translation.

In using language from the Psalms of David, the Psalter and common English version were used indifferently, in the discretion of the committee. The translations were made from the Edition of the Liturgies of the Churches of Neufchatel and Valengin, immediately used in the pulpit of the Church in Charleston, Edition of 1737, and from an Edition of 1772, obtained from the Apprentices' Library Society of this city. In the margin of these two copies, the passages of Scripture consulted in the translations were entered in pencil, and formed an interesting accompaniment to the work.

The translations having been completed, the order or arrangement of its parts was considered within the discretion of the committee. Some changes were made with a view to convenience or supposed advantage. A reference to some of them may perhaps interest.

It was originally, and I believe continues to be, the usage of the Reformed Churches of France, to commence the morning exercises of the Lord's Day by reading the Ten Commandments and the Summary of the Law from St. Matthew. These, and I believe the other Lessons of Scripture, were read by the Clerk, or Reader, not generally by the Minister. Tradition states that in this congregation it was not unusual for the male attendants to remain out of church until this reading of the Commandments and the Summary had been performed. On this account it was

thought expedient to place this exercise after the Introductory Prayer and immediately before the Confession, which experience has shown to be an advantageous change. This is a mere transportation. In addition to the advantage of having the Commandments read when all the congregation are present, the order of the services is in proper sequence. In our Book the reading of the Commandments is followed by a short address by the Minister, in sentences of Scripture, introductory to the Confession of Sins. This address was not in the Book of Neufchatel and Valengin. It was taken by the committee from the Book used in the Reformed French Church in London.

In the afternoon services for the Lord's Day, in the second edition of our Book, the General Prayer in the French Book was substituted by the General Prayer in one of the week day services in the same Book, viz: from the Morning Service for work days, ('des jours ouvriers'). This service is in the Neufchatel Edition of 1799, at page 18, and this prayer at page 20. The reason for the substitution was, that the original prayer implied that the congregation in the afternoon was the same as that of the morning and contained references to the previous service, a course better suited to a village than a city where the congregations are more likely to be composed of different persons. Besides, the prayer substituted is simpler and more practical. But the original prayer for Sunday afternoon was not lost to our Book. It furnished two of the concluding prayers, which are to be found under that head. These two prayers are p. 111 and p. 112 of our second edition; the one commencing "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, it is of Thy great goodness, etc." and the other, "Almighty God, bless, we beseech Thee, the instructions of Holy Scripture, etc." The Burial Service is professedly no part of our Book. The Reformed Church in France were prohibited from any public services at interments, and therefore buried their dead in silence and usually at night. Their Book contains no service for burials, and the

committee had either to prepare a Burial Service or adopt one. They concluded on the latter plan, and selected that of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Our original Book contained no "Occasional," and no "Concluding Prayers," which the committee had been instructed to provide, and these form a portion of Part Third of our present Book. It is therefore proper to explain the completion of Part Third. It consists of four sections.

Section 1st has ten prayers for stated occasions, to be introduced into the Morning Service. These are all taken from our original French Book.

Section 2nd consists of nine similar prayers, shorter than the above, to be used in lieu thereof, or in the Afternoon Service. These are also from our original French Book.

Section 3rd consists of "Occasional Prayers," viz : fourteen prayers and nine thanksgivings; and

Section 4th of Concluding Prayers.

These two last heads are not in our original Book, and were introduced by the committee. A portion of them were selected from our original Book; a portion from a book entitled, "A Liturgy for the Protestants of France; a Prayer for Families of the Faithful Deprived of the Public Exercises of their Religion." Third edition printed at — — — —, in 1765; and a portion were taken from the Book of Common Prayer, and my impression is that all these are traceable beyond that Book to older sources.

The services for days of Public Thanksgiving and days of Public Humiliation, are not entire services in our original French Book. Special prayers were provided in that Book for these occasions, to be introduced into one of the other services; and this plan was followed in the first edition. But in the second edition, the Committee of Revision of our Translated Liturgies arranged these services as entire services for more convenient use, but the original French Book furnished the whole material.

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Reformed Churches to commence their prayers with the sentence from the Psalms 124 and 8 : "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made Heaven and Earth."

The Lord's Prayer was used in all the services, and the Apostles' Creed in most of them.

The Confession of Sins is the same in all the forms for Morning and Afternoon Services for the Lord's Day, that came under the notice of the committee. Dr. Brigham, in his volume entitled "The French Church's Apology for the Church of England," speaks of it ⁽¹⁾ as "the Confession in Calvin's Liturgy, used by all the French Church," and he transcribes it from Calvin's works, both in French and Latin.

In the Prayer in the Morning Service for the Lord's Day asking for the Divine blessing on the reading and preaching of His Word, the following passage occurs : "So that the good seed may be received into our hearts, as into ground well prepared, and bring forth fruit in abundance." The criticism has been made, that the translation would have conformed more strictly with the Scriptures, if it had been "into good ground." This was considered by the committee, but in all the several Liturgies before them, the phrase is "*comme dans une terre bien préparée.*" It is intended to express not only "good ground," but the preparation of the ground.

Again, in the same Service, the Apostles' Creed is introduced by a prayer, not by a simple declaration, as it is in the Book of Common Prayer, and in some of the week day services in our Book. Our original Book furnished a precedent for either mode, but the committee retained strictly that of the Sunday services. To some, at least, of them it seemed peculiarly appropriate. Many believers, perhaps all believers, feel at times the need of asking the Confirmation of their Faith, even whilst professing it. Our form seems to the writer to embody the humble desire of the anxious suppliant

in the Scriptures, " Lord, I believe; help Thou my unbelief," and therefore invites and encourages confession.

The sentences introductory to the General Prayer, in the services for the Lord's Day, "Oh Lord, let Thy mercy shine upon us, and grant us Thy salvation. Oh Lord, make clean our hearts within us, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from us," are not in these services in our original Book; but these, and like introductory sentences, occur in other services of the Book, and authorize this transportation of so appropriate an introduction to prayer.

The Table of Lessons for special occasions, is given precisely from our old Book. In every Liturgy before the committee there is such a Table as well as appropriate prayers for these occasions.

This proves that the French Church generally observed, by special services, the great events in the History of our Lord. They had an ecclesiastical year, ensuring attention to these events, and instruction in the doctrines connected with them. But in none of them is there any provision in honour of Saints. Events, not persons, are the subjects of the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Reformed Church of France.

This subject underwent much consideration in France. In some of the Southern Provinces special seasons and occasions were entirely rejected, but they were always observed in others. Our Church was of the latter class, but the Table of Lessons is in aid not in restriction of the Pastor, who is at liberty to select his Lessons. He has also, at all times, been at liberty to use an extempore prayer.

The Preface first published in 1713 was not in our original Book, but was printed in our present Book from the Edition of the Neufchatel Liturgy of 1772. The reader is referred to that Preface, as containing valuable information respecting the usages and Liturgies of the Reformed Church of France.

We claim for our Liturgy a character of its own, transported in the care observed in its original composition, in the faithfulness of its translation, and in the orderly sequence of

its parts, fortified by its accordance with the essential features of the most approved Liturgies.

When the work assigned the committee had been completed, an experimental service was had in the Church. Mr. Horry read the Morning Service on Sunday to the members of the Corporation, and some friends afforded their aid in the Psalmody. The Service was approved. The Book was then printed and, at the request of the Corporation, the Rev. Mr. Daniel DuPré, of the Methodist Church and of Huguenot descent, was requested to perform regular services for — — months. These services were conducted in the old church, the seats being free in order to afford an opportunity to the community to judge of the proposed worship. The services of Mr. DuPré were well attended.

It was concluded in — — — —, 1844, to take down the Church and construct another on its site, and measures were taken with this view.

Two considerations guided the Corporation in determining the plan of the new edifice, viz : the probable extent of the congregation to be accommodated, and an expenditure without incurring debt. As no congregation really existed it was necessary to ascertain what number were prepared to unite in the revival of the Church. The desire that the Church should be revived was general in the Corporation and none opposed it, but from the force of education and habit and the differences of opinion in families, few were found prepared to give up their church association and unite fully with the Huguenot Church. There was a commendable desire not to divide families in their worship. At this time there were but seventeen persons prepared to make this their church and the church of their families, but others would take pews and give it a divided attendance. Under this state of uncertainty the present house was determined on. For several reasons it was concluded to use the old foundation and therefore not to widen the church, but to extend it at the east.

The expenditure was governed by the accumulation of income during the long intermission of the services. The funds had been faithfully administered and invested. A heavy loss had been sustained by the failure of the Bank of the United States. We have now in possession certificates of that bank for — — — shares, which had been purchased, no doubt, at a premium. The loss exceeded \$7,000, but we held in other securities about \$12,000. It was concluded to expend this sum but not to exceed it.

The church was commenced in — — —, 1844, on a plan furnished by E. B. White, Esq., Architect. It was constructed under his care and completed in 1845. The accounts of the Church during this period are preserved, and the particulars of expenditure can be ascertained.

Whilst the new edifice was in progress measures were adopted for procuring a worthy and able Minister, and after careful enquiry the Rev. Charles Wallace Howard of Georgia, and Minister of the Presbyterian Church, was unanimously invited to the pastorate, which he accepted. Under his ministry the Church was opened for regular Divine service on Sunday, 11th May, 1845. The Rev. Mr. DuPré, by request of the Elders, took part in the services. The Dedicatory Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Howard, who preached the sermons, both morning and afternoon, to very large and interested audiences. The sermon of the morning was devoted to the historical associations of the Church; that of the afternoon to its religious aspects. At the desire of the Elders a hymn, appropriate to the occasion, was composed by the gifted Mary E. Lee, a native of our city. The programme of the services of the day has been preserved, and a copy of the Prayer of Dedication has been lately found among his papers by the Rev. Mr. Howard, and sent to the writer.

The high order of talent, the theological culture, and the literary taste of Mr. Howard attracted general attention and he soon took a high rank among our preachers. All the

pews were rented and there were applicants who could not be supplied. The prospects of the Church were most encouraging, until the winter of 1849. Mr. Howard's large family induced him to combine a school with his clerical duties, and the labours of the church and school overtasked his powers and his health failed. In the winter of 1849 he passed through a serious sickness which rendered leave of absence necessary, and the Rev. Mr. Bartlett, of Sumter District, was invited by the Church to officiate for three months. On the 14th June the leave of absence to Mr. Howard was extended, to enable him to visit Europe. The arrangement with the Rev. Mr. Bartlett was extended for three months longer.

Mr. Howard's visit to Europe improved, but did not restore his health, and his physician advised the cessation of clerical duty for two years at least. Letters from Mr. Howard and his physician, Dr. F. M. Robertson, were submitted to a meeting of the congregation on 23rd December, 1849. A resolution was unanimously adopted requesting Mr. Howard not to resign, and the supply of the pulpit referred to the Elders. At meetings of the pew holders, held on the 19th and 20th February, 1850, the Rev. Mr. D. X. Lafar was elected to a temporary supply of one year.

Mr. Howard's ill health continuing, the Rev. Mr. G. W. H. Petrie was nominated Associate Pastor on the 2nd February, 1851, and he accepted the appointment, to commence the 1st May, 1851. In the interval the Rev. Mr. F. R. Goulding was requested to officiate and he did so.

On the 22nd January, 1852, the Rev. Mr. Howard resigned and his resignation was accepted 30th January, and at a meeting of the congregation, held on 1st February, 1852, the expression of feeling on their part was made and recorded.

The Rev. G. W. H. Petrie was invited to succeed Mr. Howard, and served us until 19th February, 1854, when he accepted a call to Marietta, Ga. The Church was then kept

open by temporary supply until — — — — —, when the Rev. Thomas R. G. Peck, of the Reformed Dutch Church, of the State of New York, was invited to the charge of the Church. He resigned in January, 1865.

The War ceased in the spring of 1865. As soon as means could be commanded through borrowing, the church edifice was repaired, and the organ which, during the military occupation of the city by the Federal authorities, had been removed to Grace Church, was replaced.

On the — day of — — — — —, the Rev. Charles S. Vedder was elected Pastor of the Church and entered upon his duties on Sunday, November 18th, 1866.

We are thus again endeavouring to perpetuate the worship of our ancestors. Its Rituals have, we believe, met approval, and its Articles of Faith are in general accordance with those of the Reformed Churches of the Sixteenth Century, but it may be well to advert to an objection frequently made to the Church that its principles are Calvinistic. It would be strange, indeed, if the name of Calvin were not venerated in the Reformed Church of France and in this particular Church. We are informed that "in the sight of cruel deaths and most barbarous executions, the first National Synod is called and celebrated in the Metropolis of France, at the very doors of the Court," in 1559, and the Confession of Faith and Book of Discipline adopted and published. The Rev. Mr. Calvin drew up the Confession and wrote the address to the King which accompanied it. His name and his fame belong to the Reformed Church of France and to all the Churches of the Reformed Faith. But with all the reverence felt for his mind the Church did not assume his name. Nor was there a subservience to his will independent of the truth of the Confession, for if Dr. Wilson, the author of the Institutes, be right, the Ministers of the Synod of Paris controlled and modified the Articles. And his influence upon the Reformation in England, as well as on the Continent, entitle his name to general reverence, and so

eminent a leader in doctrine has he been, that his "Institutes," a work completed at the early age of 28 years has been from the period of the Reformation, and is still, a Text Book in most Protestant Theological Colleges.

In all Reformations strong opinions obtain. It is necessary to be definite, and polemics lead to exactness of criticism and to extreme conclusions. But as the excitement of opposition subsides opinions naturally become moderate. It is impossible for one human mind to explain, with satisfaction to another, the Sovereignty of God and the responsibility of man, and that co-operation of man with his Maker in the work of Salvation, which the Scriptures affirm.

END.

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